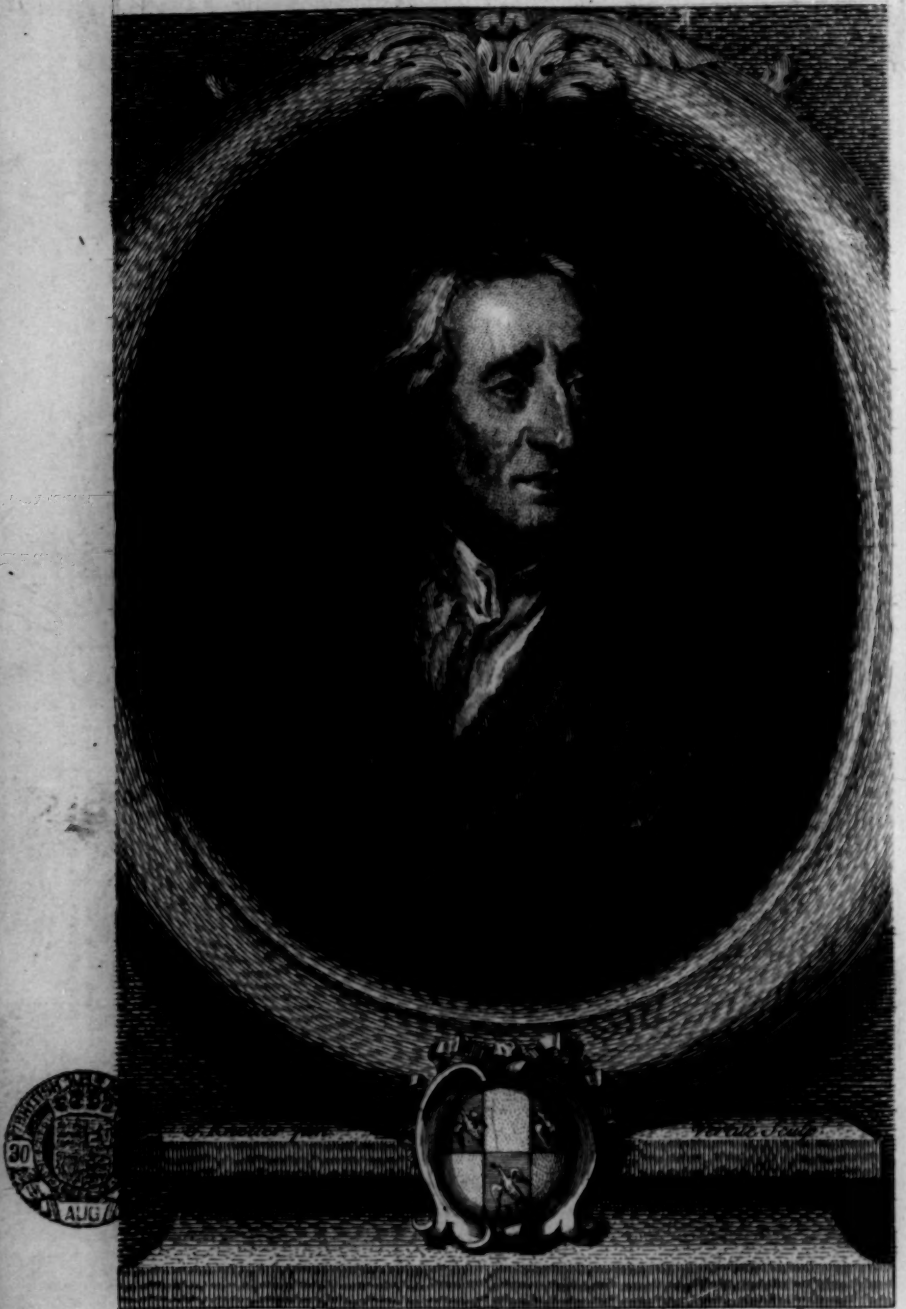
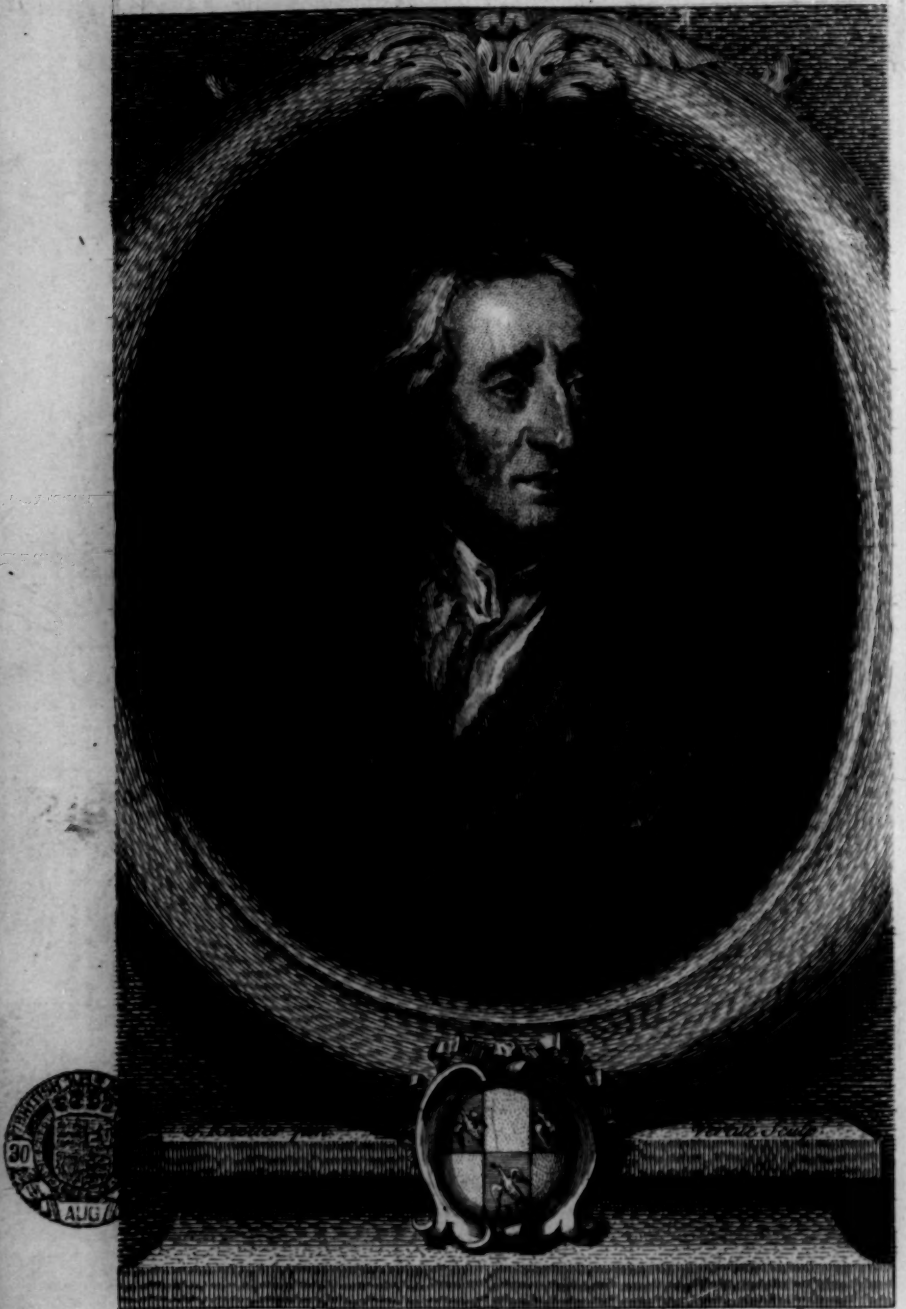




Johannes Locke



Johannes Locke

6/

Henshaw

FAMILIAR LETTERS

BETWEEN

1508/1456

Mr. *John Locke*,

AND

Several of his FRIENDS.

In which are EXPLAIN'D,

HIS NOTIONS in his ESSAY concerning
Human Understanding, and in some of his
other Works.

The FOURTH EDITION.

To which is added,

The LIFE and CHARACTER of
Mr. *JOHN LOCKE*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for F. NOBLE, at *Orway's Head* in *St. Martin's Court*, near *Leicester-Fields*; T. WRIGHT,
at the *Bible* in *Exeter-Exchange*, *Strand*; and J.
DUNCAN, in *St. Martin's Court*, near *Leicester-Fields*. MDCCXLII.

THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE
ROYAL
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE

ACCOUNT



Mr John Lubbock

THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE
ROYAL
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE
LONDON
1881



AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Life, Character, *and* Writings
OF
Mr. *John Locke.*

MR. JOHN LOCKE was born in the Year 1632, at *Wrington*, near *Bristol*; where he was baptized *August* 29th. His Father's Name was JOHN LOCKE, originally of *Pensford*, in the County of *Buckingham*; a Gentleman well vers'd in the Law, tho' it was not his particular Profession, and a Captain in the Parliament's Army, in the Time of the Civil War; by which, 'tis thought, he lost a great Part of his Substance: For he was reputed a Man of great Probity and Oeconomy,

2 The LIFE, CHARACTER, &c.

and it was well known he received a much larger Estate from his Parents than descended to his Son. He had no Daughters, and only two Sons; the younger died in his Minority, and the elder was our ingenious and learned Author. He imbib'd the first Rudiments of his extraordinary Learning at *Westminster School*. From thence he was remov'd in 1651, to *Christ's-Church College, Oxon.* February 14, 1655, he took the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, and that of Master June 29, 1658. The Reading of *Des Cartes* inclin'd him first to the Study of Philosophy. He very much disapproved of the common Course of Studies in the University; "because, says Mr. Bayle, nothing was taught there but the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, embarrass'd with obscure Terms and useles Questions; and he had a great Aversion to the Disputes of the School, at that Time much in Use." However, he vigorously pursued his Studies, applying himself in particular to that of Physic; not with any Design of practising as a Physician, but, perhaps, principally for the Benefit of his own Constitution, which was but weak. Yet his Proficiency in the Science enabled him to be of excellent Use to several of his Acquaintance, particularly to the late famous Earl of *Shaftsbury*, then Lord *Ashley*, with whom he became acquainted while he was at *Oxford*. And we find he gain'd such Esteem for his Skill, even amongst the most eminent Physicians of his Time, that Dr. *Thomas Sydenham*, in his Book entitled, *Observationes Medicæ circa Morborum acutorum Historiam & Curationem*, gives him a high Encomium in these Words: "You know, says he, likewise, how much my Method has been approved of by a Person, who has examin'd it to
" the

of Mr. JOHN LOCKE. 3

“ the Bottom, and who is our common Friend, I
“ mean, Mr. JOHN LOCKE, who, if we consider
“ his Genius, and penetrating and exact Judgment,
“ or the Strictness of his Morals, has scarce any Su-
“ perior, and few Equals now living.” He was very
often saluted by his Acquaintance with the Title, tho’
he never took the Degree, of *Doctor of Physic*. Let
us now take a View of him in his public Capacity.

Sir *William Swan* being appointed Envoy from the
English Court to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and some
other *German* Princes, Mr. LOCKE attended him in
the Quality of his Secretary, 1664, and returning to
England again, within the Year, he re-apply’d him-
self to his Studies, and, in particular, to that of Natural
Philosophy.

In 1668, the Earl of *Northumberland* intending a
Journey to *Rome*, Mr. LOCKE accompany’d him into
France, with his Countess, whom he left with Mr.
LOCKE when he proceeded on his Journey. But, upon
their receiving the News of the Earl’s Death before he
reached his Port, they return’d to *England*.

Mr. LOCKE still retain’d his Student’s Place at *Christ’s-
Church, Oxon*, where he sometimes resided, but most-
ly at the Lord *Ashley’s*, then Chancellor of the *Exche-
quer*. In the Years 1670, and 71, he enter’d upon writ-
ing his *Essay on Human Understanding*, but the Inter-
vention of other Affairs hinder’d him from finishing it
at that Time. It is suppos’d to be about this Time he
was made a Fellow of the Royal Society.

4 *The LIFE, CHARACTER, &c.*

In 1672, his noble Friend and Patron, Lord *Ashley*, now Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, made him Secretary of the Presentations; but upon the Earl's resigning the Great Seal, 1673, Mr. LOCKE was deprived of his Place: For they had both render'd themselves obnoxious to the Court, by watching the Steps, and opposing the Designs of the Catholick Party; which they fail'd not afterwards to pursue as far as they were able. Yet Mr. LOCKE was made Secretary to a Commission of Trade, in the same Year, a Place said to be worth Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*. but the Commission being dissolv'd, *December* 1674, he was again stripp'd of his Office, and *February* the 6th following he took the Degree of Batchelor of Physick.

In the Summer Season, 1675, finding himself something consumptive, he went to *Montpellier*, in *France*, for the Sake of his Health; where he stay'd some Time, and where, as well as at *Paris* in his Return, he contracted an Acquaintance with several of the most famous Men of that Kingdom.

In 1679, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was restor'd to Favour at Court, and constituted President of the Council, whereupon he sent for Mr. LOCKE to *London*, but not long after the Earl was depriv'd of his Post, and committed to the Tower, and being discharg'd, *December* 1682, he retir'd to *Holland*. Mr. LOCKE soon after follow'd him thither, and after he had been several Months absent he was accus'd at Court of having libell'd the Government in certain Tracts, which afterwards proved to be writ by another Person, but however he was prosecuted so far in his Absence as to be depriv'd

of Mr. JOHN LOCKE. 5

priv'd of his Place of Student at *Christ's-Church*. King *Charles II.* dying *February 6, 1685*, Mr. *William Pen*, who had contracted an Acquaintance with him at *Christ-Church*, made use of his Interest with King *James II.* to procure his Pardon, and had certainly succeeded, had not Mr. LOCKE, perhaps, a little too hastily answer'd, "He had no Occasion for a Pardon, since he had not been guilty of any Crime."

May 1685, King *James* understanding the Duke of *Monmouth* was in *Holland* with several *English* Gentlemen, preparing for an Invasion, he caused his Envoy at the *Hague* to demand of the States-General to deliver up Eighty Four Persons, amongst whom Mr. LOCKE was included under the Stile of *the Earl of Shaftsbury's Secretary*; tho' he always lived with the Earl as a Friend, and not as a Servant: His Name was suppos'd indeed to have been inserted by the *English* Consul, for it was said he was not included in the King's List. However, notwithstanding he had been so precautions as to leave *Amsterdam* a considerable Time before, to avoid being charged with having any Share in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Enterprize, he was obliged to flee from Place to Place, and secret himself amongst the Friends his excellent Qualifications had gain'd him in that Country. After the Storm was blown over he returned to *Amsterdam*, and, in the Year 1687, he constituted a Weekly Assembly of the most learned and ingenious Men there, for the Sake of conversing upon Subjects of Importance: Amongst whom were Mr. *Le Clerc* and Mr. *Limborch*.

6 *The* LIFE, CHARACTER, &c.

February 1689, he return'd to *England* in the Fleet appointed to convoy the Princess of *Orange*. It is said he might easily have obtain'd a very considerable Post under King *William*, but he chose to content himself with that of Commissioner of Appeals, worth little more than two hundred Pounds *per Annum*. The King would gladly have honoured him with a Public Character, and accordingly offered him his Choice at what Court it would be most suitable to his Health and Inclination to reside as an Envoy. But he handsomely excus'd himself from accepting the Offer, upon the Account of his ill State of Health.

In 1695, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, a Place reputed worth a thousand Pounds a Year. In this Office he acquitted himself with Honour till 1700, and then resign'd it, by Reason of his Astmatic Disorder, which render'd him unable to bear the Air of *London* any longer.

The last Fourteen or Fifteen Years of his Life, he pass'd at Sir *Francis Massam's* Country Seat (about Twenty Five Miles distant from *London*) call'd *Oates*, in the County of *Essex*. How he spent his Time in this Retirement, Mr. *P. Coste*, a Gentleman very intimate with him, and much in his Company, gives the following Relation: “ During this agreeable Retirement, *says he*, he apply'd himself especially to the
 “ Study of the holy Scripture; and employ'd the last
 “ Years of his Life in hardly any Thing else. He was
 “ never weary of admiring the great Views of that sacred Book, and the just Relation of all its Parts; He
 “ every Day made Discoveries in it, that gave him
 “ fresh

“ fresh Cause of Admiration. It is strongly reported
 “ in *England*, that those Discoveries will be commu-
 “ nicated to the Public. If so, the whole World, I
 “ am confident, will have a full Proof of what was ob-
 “ served by all that were near Mr. LOCKE to the last
 “ Part of his Life; I mean, that his Mind never suf-
 “ fer’d the least Decay, tho’ his Body grew every Day
 “ visibly weaker and weaker.”

The Beginning of Summer was generally a Time of Restoration to him, with Regard to his Health; but at the Return of that Season, immediately before his Decease, he found his Strength fail him to such a Degree, that he often said, tho’ with great Composure, he fore-saw his End was nigh. At length, his Legs began to swell, and as the Swelling increased his Strength diminished. In his Sickness he declared, “ He was in the Sentiments of perfect Charity towards all Men, and of a sincere Union with the Church of CHRIST under whatever Name distinguish’d.” He exhorted Lady *Masham*, who sat by his Bed, to “ regard this World only as a State of Preparation for a better.” He frequently recommended the diligent Reading of the Scriptures to such as were present with uncommon Ardency, and appeared to have a deep and grateful Sense of the Blessings God had favoured him with, which he delighted to enumerate to his Friends, declaring his Resignation to the Will of God, and his firm Hopes in his Promises. *October* 26, 1704, Mr. *Cofse* found him in his Closet upon his Knees, but so weak, he was unable to rise without Assistance. The next Day he continued in Bed, and desiring to be remembered at Evening-Prayers, Lady *Masham*

8. *The LIFE, CHARACTER, &c.*

Masbam told him, if he pleas'd, the whole Family should come and pray by him in his Chamber, which he gladly accepted. He then gave some necessary Orders with much Serenity, and an Occasion offering to mention the Goodness of God, he mightily extoll'd the Greatness of that Love that died to open a Way for the Restoration of Mankind; crying out, *O, the Depth of the Riches of the Goodness and Knowledge of God!* And was extremely thankful that he was called to the Knowledge of his divine Saviour. He likewise press'd those about him to read the Scriptures attentively, and to apply themselves sincerely to the Practice of all their Duties; adding, "By this Means you will be more happy in this World, and secure to yourselves the Possession of eternal Felicity in the other." Lady *Masbam* offering to sit up with him, he would not suffer her, but told her if he perceived himself change, he would have her call'd. He slept none that Night; but in the Morning desired to rise. Accordingly he was carried into his Study, and placed in an easy Chair, where he sometimes doz'd and slept a little. Whereupon, seeming to be something refresh'd, he was dress'd in the Manner he lately used, and took a little Small-Beer; and hearing Lady *Masbam* reading the Psalms in a low Voice, he desir'd she would read louder, which she did, and to which he gave great Attention, till feeling the Pains of Death approach, he desir'd her to break off, and expir'd presently after, *October 28, 1704.* in the seventy third Year of his Age.

He was a Man of the most extensive Knowledge that, perhaps, this Nation has produc'd. Deep in Penetration,

Penetration, and solid in Judgment. No Man understood Business, Books, and Men better than Mr. LOCKE. He was a true Philosopher, *i. e.* a Lover of Wisdom, and no less a Despiser of Cunning. He was obliging, affable, and facetious. The Gentleman appeared as beautiful in him as the Philosopher. He was grave, free and chearful in Sickness as well as in Health. He would frequently ridicule that Affectation of Preciseness and Austerity, apparent in some Pretenders to Philosophy, as well as to Religion, which renders them so ridiculous, by displaying their Vanity and Self-Conceit to the World. He much admired that Maxim of Rochefaucault, *That Preciseness is a Mystery of the Body invented to conceal the Defects of the Mind.* He was a great Lover of solid Truths, and good Reasoning; wisely applying his Reason to every Thing, to try its real Worth and Service; which rendered him a hearty Despiser of Plays, Romances, and all the idle, indecent, and hurtful Whimsies of the blindly ador'd Ancients, as well as the conceited modern Versifiers. He had likewise a great Aversion to the Works of little Dabblers, and Dealers in useless Hypotheses, and all such as trifle away their own, and their Reader's Time in Criticisms upon Words, and Things of no Importance. Mr. Coste informs us, "he was naturally something Choleric; but his Anger never lasted long. If he retained any Resentment, it was against himself, for having given Way to so ridiculous a Passion; which, as he used to say, may do a great deal of Harm, but never yet did the least Good."

One Method he took to improve himself in the Knowledge of useful Arts, was by accommodating himself

10 *The LIFE, CHARACTER, &c.*

self to the Reach of all Capacities: " With a Gardener, *says Mr. Coste*, he would talk of Gardening ;
 " with a Jeweller, of a Diamond ; with a Chymist, of
 " Chymistry, &c. By this, *said he himself*, I please
 " all those Men, who commonly can speak pertinent-
 " ly upon nothing else. As they believe I have an
 " Esteem for their Profession, they are charm'd with
 " shewing their Abilities before me ; and I, in the
 " mean while, improve myself by their Discourse."

The Generality of Authors are stiffly tenacious of their own Conceits ; he knew, *Humanum est errare*, to be a Truth, and therefore steer'd in a different Channel, declaring, " he should always be glad to
 " prefer Truth to any of his Opinions."

It must be acknowledg'd, he had one Notion which was very uncourtly ; *i. e.* *He would not hold an Employment without doing the Duties of it.* And what is very uncommon, he acted accordingly. For when his Astmatic Disorder had rendered him incapable to act with his wonted Regularity in his Office, he privately resigned it up to the King, tho' a Place of a thousand Pounds *per Annum*. And when he was reproach'd with it by some Person of Honour, no Question, he reply'd, " he very well knew, he might have
 " made an Advantage of it ; and this was the very
 " Reason why he communicated his Design to no
 " Body. *Adding*, I received this Place from the
 " King himself, and to him I resolved to restore it,
 " to dispose of it as he thought proper."

His

of Mr. JOHN LOCKE. 11

His Writings are 1. A Register of the Changes of Air observed at *Oxford* by the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hydrometer, from *June 24, 1666, to March 28, 1667.* 2. A Letter concerning Toleration. 3. A Second Letter on the same Subject. 4. A Third on the same. 5. A Fourth left unfinished, and publish'd amongst his posthumous Works. 6. Several Pieces in the Second Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle.* 7. An Essay concerning Human Understanding. 8. Two Treatises of Government. In the former the false Principles of Sir *Robert Filmer*, and his Followers are detected and overthrown. The latter is an Essay concerning the true Original, Extent, and End of civil Government. 9. Some Considerations of the Consequences of the lowering of Interest, and raising of the Value of Money, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament. 10. Some Observations on a printed Paper, entitled, *For encouraging coining Silver-Money in England, &c.* 11. Further Observations concerning raising the Value of Money, &c. 12. Some Thoughts concerning Education. 13. The Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures. This Book was extremely offensive to the corrupt and selfish Part of the Clergy, both high and low, its Doctrine, it seems, bent too strongly against the Foundation of their two favourite Idols, Power and Interest, by teaching *Salvation by Christ alone.* The generous Mr. *Samuel Bold*, Rector of *Steeple* in *Dorset*, appeared in its Favour, and notwithstanding the Opposition of his Brethren, ingeniously observes, “ *Were the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c. generally read with Deliberation, and rightly understood, and (what I apprehend to be) its main Design well follow'd, it would be of eminent*

12 *The LIFE, CHARACTER, &c.*

“ nent Use, amongst other good Purposes, to these two;
 “ first, to effect an happy Alteration in particular Per-
 “ sons: For if more Time and Pains were employ’d in
 “ bringing People to a sound Conviction, and full Per-
 “ swasion that *JESUS is the CHRIST*, and *only Savi-*
 “ *our* of Sinners, and of their own personal Need of
 “ him; and less of each in squabbling about Terms
 “ *Men have devis’d to express’d their own Conceits* re-
 “ lating to Points, which *CHRIST* and his Apostles
 “ have deliver’d in easy and unaffected Words; there
 “ would not be such great Numbers every where who
 “ pretend to be Christians merely because it is the Fa-
 “ shion and Mode of the Country to make that Pro-
 “ fession, but we might, upon good Grounds, expect,
 “ that Multitudes would be *Christians* upon a *rational*
 “ and *wise Choice*.”

14. A Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christ-
 tianity, &c. 15. A Second Vindication of the Rea-
 sonableness of Christianity. 16. A Letter to the Right
 Reverend *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, concern-
 ing some Passages relating to Mr. *LOCKE*’s Essay on
 Human Understanding, &c. 17. Reply to the Right
 Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, &c. 18. Re-
 ply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Worcester*’s
 Answer to his Second Letter, &c. 19. Posthu-
 mous Works of Mr. *LOCKE*, containing 1. The Con-
 duct of the Understanding. 2. An Examination of
Malebranche’s Opinion of seeing all Things in God.
 3. A Discourse of Miracles. 4. Part of a fourth Let-
 ter on Toleration. 5. Memoirs relating to the Life of
Anthony, first Earl of *Shaftsbury*. 6. A new Method
 of a Common-Place Book. 20. A Paraphrase and
 Notes

of Mr. JOHN LOCKE. 13

Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Romans, Corinthians and Ephesians. To which is prefix'd, an Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself. 21. Familiar Letters between Mr. LOCKE and several of his Friends. 22. A Collection of several Pieces of Mr. JOHN LOCKE, This Contains 1. The fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. 2. A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country, giving an Account of the Debates and Resolutions in the House of Lords, in April and May 1675. Concerning this, says the ingenious Andrew Marvel, " This Debate lasted many Days with Eagerness on both Sides, and the Reasons but on One;" and speaking of our Author's Relation of it, he tells us, " it was the next Session burnt by Order of the (Court) Lords, but the Sparks of it will eternally fly in their Faces." 3. Remarks upon Mr. Norris. 4. Elements of natural Philosophy. 5. Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman. 6. A Collection of Letters to several Persons. And, 7. Rules of a Society, which met once a Week for their Improvement in useful Knowledge, and for the promoting of Truth and Christian Charity.

The END of Mr. LOCKE's Life.

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TO THE
READER.

THE following Letters, offer'd to your Perusal, are the genuine Productions of those Gentlemen to whom they are attributed.

They contain not only such civil and polite Conversation as Friendship produces among Men of Parts, Learning, and Candour; but several Matters relating to Literature, and more particularly to Mr. LOCKE's Notions, in his Essay concerning Human Understanding, and in some of his other Works: And therefore I cannot doubt of your Thanks for the Present I make you. For, though the Curiosity of some to see whatever drops from the Pens of Great Men, and to inform themselves in their private Characters, their Tempers, Dispositions, and Manner of Con-
versing with their Friends, would perhaps have justified me in publishing any Letters of Mr. LOCKE's, and of his Friends to him (that were not Letters of mere Business) yet

my Regard to what I take to be the more general Judgment of the Publick, has determin'd me to publish such only as have Relation to this twofold View, and shall determine me hereafter, in a second Volume, if Gentlemen that have any Letters of Mr. LOCKE's by them, think fit to communicate them to me.





SOME

Familiar Letters, &c.



Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, July 16, 1692.

S I R,



HOUGH the extraordinary Compliment you were pleased to make me in the Epistle Dedicatory *, easily persuaded me from whom that Present was likely to come, when at my coming to Town I found your Book left for me by Mr. Tooke at my Book-seller's ;

* Before *A Treatise of Dioptricks*, printed at London, 1692. wherein it is said, That to none do we owe for a greater Advancement in this Part of Philosophy, (*viz.* Logick) than to the incomparable Mr. Locke, who, in his Essay of Human Understanding, hath rectified more received Mistakes, and delivered more profound Truths, established on Experience and Observation, for the Direction of Man's Mind in the Prosecution

6 *Familiar LETTERS, between*

seller's; yet my Consciouſness, how little I could deserve the one or the other from you, made me fear some Mistake, till enquiring of Mr. *Tooke* himself, he assured me of the Favour you had done me. I will not pretend to return you such Thanks as I ought, till I can write such a Book as yours is. Only give me leave to say, that if my Trifle could possibly be an Occasion of Vanity to me, you have done most to make it so; since I could scarce forbear to applaud my self, upon such a Testimony from one who so well understands Demonstration, did I not see that those, who can be extreme rigorous and exact in the Search of Truth, can be as civil and as complaisant in their Dealing with those whom they take to be Lovers of it. But this cannot keep me from being out of Countenance at the Receipt of such Obligations, without the Hopes of making such Returns as I ought. Instead of that, give me leave to do what is next to it, and let you see that I am not sorry I am obliged to you. The Bearer hereof, Dr. *Sibelius*, is a Friend of mine, who comes to *Dublin* with a Design to settle there; and I beg your Assistance of him, in what lies in your way: I shall take it as a Favour done to me. And methinks I have reason now to expect it of you, since you have done me, more than one, very great ones, when I had no reason to expect any at all. Sir, you have made great Advances of Friendship towards me, and you see they are not lost upon me. I am very sensible of them, and would make such an Use of them as might

of Knowledge, (which I think may be properly term'd Logick) than are to be met with in all the Volumes of the Ancients. He has clearly overthrown all those metaphysical Whimsies, which infected Mens Brains with a Spice of Madness, whereby they feign'd a Knowledge where they had none, by making a Noise with Sounds, without clear and distinct Significations.

assure

Mr. Locke, and several of his Friends. 7

assure you I should take it for a new Favour, if you would afford me an Occasion wherein I might, by any Service, tell you how much I am,

S I R,

Your most humble

and most obliged Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

I had the Honour to know one of your Name at *Leyden*, about seven or eight Years since. If he be any Relation of yours, and now in *Dublin*, I beg the Favour of you to present my humble Service to him.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, August 27, 1692.

S I R,

UPON the Arrival of our Lord Lieutenant in this Place (which was on the 25th Instant) I had the Favour of a Letter from you by the Hands of Dr. *Sibelius*. I cannot easily tell you how grateful it was to me, having the highest Esteem for him that sent it, from the first Moment that I was so happy as to see any of his Writings; and therefore it was that I was so ambitious of making a Friendship with you, by presenting you one of my Trifles, which I order'd my Book-seller to lay before you under this Character, *As a mean Testimony of the great Respect I had for the Author of the Essay of Human Understanding*. And since I find by yours to me, that my Ambition is not fallen short of its Design; but that you are pleas'd to encourage me, by assuring me

8 *Familiar LETTERS, between*

that I have made great Advances of Friendship towards you ; give me leave to embrace the Favour with all Joy imaginable. And that you may judge of Sincerity by my open Heart, I will plainly confess to you, that I have not in my Life read any Book with more Satisfaction than your *Essay* ; insomuch that a repeated Perusal of it is still more pleasant to me.

And I have endeavour'd, with great Success, to recommend it to the Consideration of the Ingenious in this Place. Dr. King, Bishop of *Derry*, when he read it, made some slight Remarks on the foremost Parts of the Book ; but his Business would not permit him to go through it all. What he did, rough as it was, he gave to me ; and they are at your Commands when you please.

One Thing I must needs insist on to you, which is, that you would think of obliging the World with a *Treatise of Morals*, drawn up according to the Hints you frequently give in your *Essay*, of their being demonstrable according to the mathematical Method. This is most certainly true. But then the Task must be undertaken only by so clear and distinct a Thinker as you are. This were an Attempt worthy your Consideration : And there is nothing I should more ardently wish for, than to see it. And therefore, good Sir, let me beg of you to turn your Thoughts this way ; and if so young a Friendship as mine have any Force, let me prevail upon you.

Upon my reading your *Essay*, I was so taken with it, that when I was in *London*, in *August* 1690, I made enquiry amongst some of my learned Friends for any other of your Writings, if perhaps they knew any. I was recommended by some to *Two Discourses concerning Government*, and a little *Treatise concerning Toleration*. There is neither of them carries your Name ; and I will not venture

Mr. Locke, and several of his Friends. 9

to ask whether they are yours or not: This, only, I think, no Name need be ashamed of either.

Dr. *Sibelius*, I find, is your Friend, and therefore I assure him of all Service I can possibly do him. I will make it my Business to get him Acquaintance in this Place; and I dare promise him some of the best.

The inclosed from my Brother, will tell you that he was your Acquaintance in *Leyden*. I myself have been there, *Anno 1685*. but had not the good Fortune of being known to you. But from this Time I shall reckon my self happy in your Friendship, and shall ever subscribe my self

Your most affectionate

and most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, Sept. 20, 1692.

S I R,

THERE being nothing that I think of so much Value as the Acquaintance and Friendship of knowing and worthy Men, you may easily guess how much I find my self obliged, I will not say by the Offer of it, but by the Gift you have made me of yours. That which confirms me in the Assurance of it, is the little Pretence I have to it. For, knowing my self as I do, I cannot think so vainly of my self, as to imagine that you should make such Overtures and Expressions of Kindness to me for any other End, but merely as the Pledges and Exercise of it. I return you therefore my Thanks, as for the greatest and most acceptable

ceptable Present you could have made me; and desire you to believe, that since I cannot hope that the Returns which I made you of mine should be of any great Use to you, I shall endeavour to make it up, as well as I can, with an high Esteem, and perfect Sincerity. You must therefore expect to have me live with you hereafter, with all the Liberty and Assurance of a settled Friendship. For meeting with but few Men in the World whose Acquaintance I find much reason to covet, I make more than ordinary Haste into the Familiarity of a rational Enquirer after, and Lover of Truth, whenever I can light on any such. There are Beauties of the Mind, as well as of the Body, that take and prevail at first sight: And where-ever I have met with this, I have readily surrender'd my self, and have never yet been deceiv'd in my Expectation. Wonder not therefore, if having been thus wrought on, I begin to converse with you with as much Freedom as if we had begun our Acquaintance when you were in *Holland*; and desire your Advice and Assistance about a second Edition of my *Essay*, the former being now dispersed. You have, I perceive, read it over so carefully, more than once, that I know no body I can more reasonably consult about the Mistakes and Defects of it. And I expect a great deal more from any Objections you should make, who comprehend the whole Design and Compass of it, than from one who has read but a Part of it, or measures it, upon a slight Reading, by his own Prejudices. You will find, by my Epistle to the Reader, that I was not insensible of the Fault I committed by being too long upon some Points, and the Repetitions that by my way of writing of it had got in, I let it pass with, but not without Advice so to do. But now that my Notions are got into the World, and have in some measure bustled through

through the Opposition and Difficulty they were like to meet with from the received Opinion, and that Prepossession which might hinder them from being understood upon a short Proposal; I ask you whether it would not be better now to pare off, in a second Edition, a great Part of that which cannot but appear superfluous to an intelligent and attentive Reader. If you are of that Mind, I shall beg the Favour of you to mark to me those Passages which you would think fittest to be left out. If there be any thing wherein you think me mistaken, I beg you to deal freely with me, that either I may clear it up to you, or reform it in the next Edition. For I flatter my self that I am so sincere a Lover of Truth, that it is very indifferent to me, so I am possess'd of it, whether it be by my own, or any other's Discovery. For I count any Parcel of this Gold not the less to be valued, nor not the less enriching, because I wrought it not out of the Mine my self. I think every one ought to contribute to the common Stock, and to have no other Scruple or Shyness about the receiving of Truth, but that he be not impos'd on, and take counterfeit, and what will not bear the Touch, for genuine and real Truth. I doubt not, but to one of your Largeness of Thought, that in the reading of my Book you miss several Things, that perhaps belong to my Subject, and you would think belongs to the System: If in this Part too you will communicate your Thoughts, you will do me a Favour. For though I will not so flatter my self, as to undertake to fill up the Gaps which you may observe in it; yet it may be of Use, where mine is at a Stand, to suggest to others Matter of farther Contemplation. This I often find, that what Men by thinking have made clear to themselves, they are apt to think, that upon the first Suggestion it should be so to others, and so let it go not sufficiently explain'd; not considering

ing what may be very clear to themselves, may be very obscure to others. Your Penetration and Quickness hinders me from expecting from you many Complaints of this kind. But if you have met with any thing, in your reading of my Book, which at first sight you stuck at, I shall think it a sufficient Reason, in the next Edition, to amend it for the Benefit of meaner Readers.

The Remarks of that learned Gentleman you mention, which you say you have in your Hands, I shall receive as a Favour from you.

Though by the View I had of moral Ideas, whilst I was considering that Subject, I thought I saw that Morality might be demonstratively made out; yet whether I am able so to make it out, is another Question. Every one could not have demonstrated what Mr. *Newton's* Book hath shewn to be demonstrable: But to shew my Readiness to obey your Commands, I shall not decline, the first Leisure I can get, to employ some Thoughts that way; unless I find what I have said in my *Essay* shall have stir'd up some abler Man to prevent me, and effectually do that Service to the World.

We had here, the 8th Instant, a very sensible Earthquake, there being scarce an House, wherein it was not by some body or other felt. We have News of it at several Places from *Cologne*, as far as *Bristol*. Whether it reach'd you, I have not heard. If it did, I would be glad to know what was the exact Time it was felt, if any body observed it. By the Queen's Pendulum at *Kensington*, which the Shake stop'd from going, it was 2 h. *post m.* At *Whitehall*, where I observed it, it was by my Watch 2 h. 5 m. *post m.* Which, supposing the Queen's Pendulum went exact, and adding the Equation of that Day, will fall near the Time mark'd by my Watch, or a little later. If there could be found People, that in the whole Extent
of

of it, did by well adjusted Clocks exactly observe the Time, one might see whether it were all one Shock, or proceeded gradually from one Place to another.

I thank you for having taken Dr. *Sibelius* into your Protection. I desire you, with my Service, to present my most humble Thanks to your Brother, for the Favour of his Letter; to which, tho' I have not time this Post to return an Answer, I shall not long delay my Acknowledgments.

I hope you will see, by the Freedom I have here taken with you, that I begin to reckon my self amongst your Acquaintance. Use me so, I beseech you. If there be any Service I can do you here, employ me, with an Assurance that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Oct. 15, 92.

S I R,

I Do most heartily beg your Pardon for my long Silence to yours of the 20th last. Our then approaching Parliament was the Occasion of my not returning you an immediate Answer; and I expected withal to give you a more large Account of some Things you desire from me. But seeing no immediate Hopes of Leisure, by reason of our Parliamentary Business, I venture at present to send you only the inclosed rough Papers. And till I can have an Opportunity my self of revising your Book,

14 *Familiar LETTERS, between*

I have put it into the Hands of a very ingenious and learned Person, who promises me to give his Observations in Writing; which, as soon as obtain'd, I shall transmit to you. — The Earthquake was not at all felt here. — I am wonderfully pleas'd that you give me Hopes of seeing a *Moral Essay* from your Hand; which I assure you, Sir, with all Sincerity, is highly respected by

Your most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Dec. 22, 1692.

S I R,

I Now sit down to answer yours of *September 20*, concerning the second Edition of your Book, wherein you desire my Opinion and Advice. And after so long Consideration of the Matter, as between that and this, and consulting some ingenious Heads here about it, I can say but little; only that the same judicious Hand, that first form'd it, is best able to reform it, where he sees convenient. I never quarrel'd with a Book for being too prolix, especially where the Prolixity is pleasant, and tends to the Illustration of the Matter in hand, as I am sure yours always does. And after I received your Letter on this Subject, I communicated the Contents thereof to two very ingenious Persons here; and at the same Time I lent them your Book, desiring them to examine it strictly, and to find out, and note, whatever might be changed, added, or subtracted. And after a diligent Perusal, they agreed with me in the same Conclusion, *viz.* That the Work, in all its Parts, was so wonderfully cu-
rious

rious and instructive, that they would not venture to alter any thing in it. But however, that I may in some measure answer your Expectations, I shall briefly note to you what I conceive on this Subject.

And, 1st, The *Errata Typographica* (besides those mention'd in the Table) are many and great; these, therefore, in your next Edition, are diligently to be corrected.

2^{dly}, pag. 270. 'Tis asserted, " That without
" a particular Revelation we cannot be certain,
" that Matter cannot think, or that Omnipoten-
" tency may not endow Matter with a Power of
" Thinking."

And pag. 314, 315. " The Immateriality of
" God is evinced from the absolute Impossibility
" of Matter's Thinking." These two Places, I know, have been stumbled at by some, as not consistent. To me indeed they appear, and are very agreeable; and I have clearly evinced their Consistency, to those that have scrupled them. But I thought fit to give you this Hint, that in your next Edition you may prevent any such Doubt. My Sense of these two Places is this. In the first 'tis said, " That we cannot tell (without a particular Revelation to the contrary) but an Almighty God can make Matter think." In the other 'tis asserted, " That unthinking Matter cannot be this Almighty God." The next Place I take Notice of, as requiring some farther Explication, is your Discourse about Man's Liberty and Necessity. This Thread seems so wonderfully fine spun in your Book, that at last the great Question of Liberty and Necessity seems to vanish. And herein you seem to make all Sins to proceed from our Understandings, or to be against Conscience, and not at all from the Depravity of our Wills. Now it seems harsh to say, that a Man shall be damn'd, because he understands no better than he does.

does. What you say concerning *Genera* and *Species*, is unquestionably true; and yet it seems hard to assert, that there is no such sort of Creatures in Nature as Birds: For though we may be ignorant of the particular Essence that makes a Bird to be a Bird, or that determines and distinguishes a Bird from a Beast, or the just Limits and Boundaries between each; yet we can no more doubt of a Sparrow's being a Bird, and an Horse's being a Beast, than we can of this Colour being black, and t'other white; tho' by Shades they may be made so gradually to vanish into each other, that we cannot tell where either determines.

But all this I write more in Deference to your Desires from me, than to satisfy my self that I have given you any material Hints, or have offer'd any considerable Objection that is worth your Notice and Removal. Mr. Norris's unfortunate Attempts on your Book sufficiently testify its Validity; and truly I think he trifles so egregiously, that he should forewarn all Men how far they venture to criticise on your Work. But thus far, after all, I'll venture to intimate to you, that if you are for another Work of this kind, I should advise you to let this stand as it does. And your next shall be of a Model wholly new, and that is by way of Logick; something accommodated to the usual Forms, together with the Consideration of Extension, Solidity, Mobility, Thinking, Existence, Duration, Number, &c. and of the Mind of Man, and its Powers, as may make up a complete Body of what the Schools call Logick and Metaphysicks. This I am the more inclinable to advise, on two Accounts: *First*, because I have lately seen *Johannis Clerici Logica, Ontologia* and *Pneumatologia*, in all which he has little extraordinary, but what he borrows from you; and in the Alteration he gives them, he robs them of their native Beauties, which can only be preserved

served to them by the same incomparable Art that first framed them. Secondly, I was the first that recommended and lent to the Reverend Provost of our University, Dr. *Ashe*, a most learned and ingenious Man, your *Essay*; with which he was so wonderfully pleased and satisfied, that he has order'd it to be read by the Batchelors in the College, and strictly examines them in their Progress therein. Now a large Discourse in the way of Logick would be much more taking in the Universities, wherein Youths do not satisfy themselves to have the Breeding or Business of the Place, unless they are engaged in something that bears the Name and Form of Logick.

This, Sir, is in short what offers it self to me at present, concerning your Work. There remains only that I again put you in mind of the second Member of your Division of Sciences, the *Ars Practica*, or Ethicks; you cannot imagine what an earnest Desire and Expectation I have raised in those that are acquainted with your Writings, by the Hopes I have given them from your Promise of endeavouring Something on that Subject. Good Sir, let me renew my Requests to you therein; for, believe me Sir, 'twill be one of the most useful and glorious Undertakings that can employ you. The Touches you give in many Places of your Book on this Subject are wonderfully curious, and do largely testify your great Abilities that way; and I am sure the Pravity of Mens Morals does mightily require the most powerful Means to reform them. Be as large as 'tis possible on this Subject, and by all means let it be in *English*. He that reads the xlvth Section in your 129th Page, will be inflamed to read more of the same kind, from the same incomparable Pen. Look therefore on your self as obliged, by God Almighty, to undertake this Task: Pardon me, Sir, that I am so free with you, as

18 *Familiar LETTERS, between*

to insist to your self on your Duty, who, doubtless, understand it better than I can tell you) Suffer not therefore your Thoughts to rest till you have finish'd it; and that God Almighty may succeed your Labours, is, and shall be the Prayer of,

Worthy S I R,

Your entirely affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 26 Dec. 1692.

S I R,

WHatever has happen'd to give you Leisure sooner than was expected, I hope to receive some Advantage by it; and that now you will be able to send me your own Thoughts on my Book, together with the Observations of your Friend, into whose Hands you have put it with that Design. I return you my humble Thanks for the Papers you did me the Favour to send me in your last; but am apt to think you agree with me, that there is very little in those Papers, wherein either my Sense is not mistaken, or very little wherein the Argument is directly against me. I suppose that learned Gentleman, if he had had the Leisure to read my *Essay* quite through, would have found several of his Objections might have been spared. And I can easily forgive those who have not been at the Pains to read the third Book of my *Essay*, if they make use of Expressions, that when examined signify nothing at all, in defence of Hypotheses that have long possess'd their Minds. I am far from imagining my self infallible; but yet I should be loth

to

to differ from any thinking Man, being fully persuaded there are very few Things of pure Speculation, wherein two thinking Men, who impartially seek Truth, can differ, if they give themselves the Leisure to examine their Hypotheses, and understand one another. I, presuming you to be of this Make, whereof so few are to be found (for 'tis not every one that thinks himself a Lover or Seeker of Truth, who sincerely does it) took the Liberty to desire your Objections, that in the next Edition I might correct my Mistakes. For I am not fond of any thing in my Book, because I have once thought or said it: And therefore I beg you, if you will give your self the Pains to look over my Book again, with this Design to oblige me, that you would use all manner of Freedom, both as to Matter; Style, Disposition, and every thing wherein, in your own Thoughts, any thing appears to you fit in the least to be alter'd, omitted, explain'd, or added. I find none so fit, nor so fair Judges, as those whose Minds the Study of Mathematicks has open'd, and disentangled from the Cheat of Words, which has too great an Influence in all the other which go for Sciences; and, I think (were it not for the doubtful and fallacious Use made of those Signs) might be made much more Sciences than they are.

I sent Order, some time since, that a posthumous Piece of Mr. Boyle's should be given to your Bookseller in London, to be convey'd to you. It is *A general History of the Air*; which, though left by him very imperfect, yet I think the very Design of it will please you; and it is cast into a Method that any one who pleases may add to it, under any of the several Titles, as his Reading or Observation shall furnish him with Matter of Fact. If such Men as you are, curious and knowing, would join to what Mr. Boyle had collected and prepared, what

20 *Familiar* LETTERS, *between*

comes in their way, we might hope in some time to have a considerable History of the Air, than which I scarce know any Part of Natural Philosophy would yield more Variety and Use; but it is a Subject too large for the Attempts of any one Man, and will require the Assistance of many Hands, to make it a History very short of compleat.

Since I did my self the Honour to write to your Brother, I have been very ill, to which you must pardon some Part of the Length of my Silence. But my Esteem and Respect for you is founded upon something so much beyond Compliment and Ceremony, that I hope you will not think me the less so, though I do not every Post importune you with repeated Professions that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 20 Jan. 9 $\frac{2}{3}$.

S I R,

HAD I known I should within so few Days have receiv'd the Favour of such a Letter as yours of 22 Dec. I should not have troubled you with mine, that went hence but a little before the Receipt of yours. I was afraid, in reading the Beginning of yours, that I had not so great an Interest in you as I flatter'd my self, and upon a Presumption whereof it was that I took the Liberty so confidently to ask your Advice concerning the second Edition of my Book. But what followed satisfied me that it was your Civility, and not Reservedness,

vedness, made you tell me, that the same Hand which first form'd it, is best able to reform it. Could I flatter my self so as to think I deserved all that you say of me in your obliging Letter, I should yet think you a better Judge of what is to be reform'd in my Book, than I my self. You have given the World Proofs of your great Penetration, and I have received great Marks of your Candor. But were the Inequality between us as much to my Advantage as it is on the other Side, I should nevertheless beg your Opinion. Whatsoever is our own, let us do what we can, stands a little too near us, to be view'd as it should: And though we ever so sincerely aim at Truth, yet our own Thoughts judging still of our own Thoughts, may be suspected to overlook Errors and Mistakes. And I should think he valued himself more than Truth, and presumed too much on his own Abilities, who would not be willing to have all the Exceptions that could be made, by any ingenious Friend, before he ventured any thing into the Publick. I therefore heartily thank you for those you have sent me, and for consulting some of your Friends to the same Purpose; and beg the Favour, if any thing more occurs from your own Thoughts, or from them, you will be pleased to communicate it to me, if it be but those *Errata Typographica* you meet with, not taken notice of in the Table. I confess, I thought some of the Explications in my Book too long, though turn'd several Ways, to make those abstract Notions the easier sink into Minds prejudiced in the ordinary way of Education, and therefore I was of a Mind to contract it. But finding you, and some other Friends of mine, whom I consulted in the Case, of a contrary Opinion, and that you judge the Redundancy in it a pardonable Fault, I shall take very little Pains to reform it.

22 *Familiar LETTERS, between*

I confess what I say, *p.* 270. compar'd with *p.* 314, 315, may, to an unwary Reader, seem to contain a Contradiction; but you, considering right, perceive that there is none. But it not being reasonable for me to expect that every body should read me with that Judgment you do, and observe the Design and Foundation of what I say, rather than stick barely in the Words, 'tis fit, as far as may be, that I accommodate my self to ordinary Readers, and avoid the Appearances of Contradiction, even in their Thoughts. *Page* 314. I suppose Matter, in its own natural State, void of Thought; a Supposition I concluded would not be denied me, or not hard to be prov'd if it should: And thence I infer'd, Matter could not be the first eternal Being. But, *p.* 270. I thought it no Absurdity or Contradiction to suppose, *That a thinking, omnipotent Being, once granted, such a Being might annex to some Systems of Matter, ordered in a Way that he thought fit, a Capacity of some Degrees of Sense and Thinking.* To avoid this Appearance of a Contradiction in my two Suppositions, and clear it up to less attentive Readers, I intend in the second Edition to alter it thus, if you think it will do.

P. 270. *l.* 20. read, *For I see no Contradiction in it, that the first eternal thinking Being, or omnipotent Spirit, should, if he pleased, give to certain Systems of created senseless Matter, put together as he thinks fit, some Degrees of Sense, Perception, and Thought; though I judge it no less than a Contradiction, to suppose Matter (which is evidently, in its own Nature, without Sense and Thought) should be the eternal, first thinking Being. What Certainty of Knowledge can any one have, that some Perceptions, such as, v. g. Pleasure and Pain, should not be in some Bodies themselves after —*

P. 315. l. 5. read, *Thought can never begin to be: For it is impossible to conceive that Matter, either with or without Motion, could have originally in and from it self Sense, Perception and Knowledge, as is evident from hence, that Sense, Perception and Knowledge, must then be a Property eternally inseparable from Matter, and every Particle of it. Not to add, that though our general or specifick Conception of Matter makes us speak of it as one Thing; yet really all Matter is not one individual Thing, neither is there any such Thing existing as one material Being, or one Body, that we know or can conceive: And therefore, if Matter were the eternal, first cogitative Being, there would not be one eternal, infinite cogitative Being; but an infinite Number of finite cogitative Beings, independent one of another, of limited Force and distinct Thoughts, which could never produce that Order, Harmony and Beauty, that is to be found in Nature. Since therefore whatsoever is the first eternal Being, must necessarily be cogitative; and whatsoever is first of all Things—higher in Degree, it necessarily follows, that the eternal first Being cannot be Matter. Pray give me your Opinion, whether, if I print it thus, it will not remove the Appearance of any Contradiction.*

I do not wonder to find you think my Discourse about *Liberty* a little too fine spun; I had so much that Thought of it my self, that I said the same Thing of it to some of my Friends before it was printed, and told them, that upon that account I judg'd it best to leave it out; but they persuaded me to the contrary. When the Connexion of the Parts of my Subject brought me to the Consideration of *Power*, I had no design to meddle with the Question of *Liberty*, but barely pursued my Thoughts in the Contemplation of that Power in Man of chusing or preferring, which we call the Will, as far as they would lead me without any the least Bias

to one side or other; or if there was any leaning in my Mind, it was rather to the contrary side to that where I found my self at the End of my Pursuit. But doubting that it bore a little too hard upon Man's Liberty, I shew'd it to a very ingenious, but profess'd *Arminian*, and desir'd him, after he had consider'd it, to tell me his Objections, if he had any; who frankly confess'd he could carry it no farther. I confess, I think there might be something said, which with a great many Men would pass for a satisfactory Answer to your Objection; but it not satisfying me, I neither put it into my Book, nor shall now into my Letter. If I have put any Fallacy on my self in all that Deduction, as it may be, and I have been ready to suspect it my self, you will do me a very acceptable Kindness to shew it me, that I may reform it. But if you will argue for or against Liberty from Consequences, I will not undertake to answer you. For I own freely to you the Weakness of my Understanding, that though it be unquestionable that there is Omnipotence and Omniscience in God our Maker, and I cannot have a clearer Perception of any thing than that I am free; yet I cannot make Freedom in Man consistent with Omnipotence and Omniscience in God, though I am as fully persuaded of both, as of any Truths I most firmly assent to: And therefore I have long since given off the Consideration of that Question, resolving all into this short Conclusion; That if it be possible for God to make a free Agent, then Man is free, though I see not the Way of it.

In the Objection you raise about *Species*, I fear you are fallen into the same Difficulty I often found my self under, when I was writing on that Subject, where I was very apt to suppose distinct *Species* I could talk of, without Names. For pray, Sir, consider what it is you mean, when you say, That

we can no more doubt of a Sparrow's being a Bird, and an Horse's being a Beast, than we can of this Colour being Black, and t'other White, &c. but this, that the Combination of simple Ideas, which the Word *Bird* stands for, is to be found in that particular Thing we call a Sparrow. And therefore I hope I have no where said, *There is no such sort of Creatures in Nature as Birds*: If I have, it is both contrary to Truth, and to my Opinion. This I do say, That there are real Constitutions in Things from whence these simple Ideas flow, which we observ'd combined in them. And this I farther say, That there are real Distinctions and Differences in those real Constitutions, one from another, whereby they are distinguished one from another, whereby we think of them, or name them or no; but that that, whereby we distinguish and rank particular Substances into Sorts, or *Genera* and *Species*, is not those real Essences, or internal Constitutions, but such Combinations of simple Ideas as we observe in them. This I design'd to shew in *Lib. iii. c. 6.* If, upon your Perusal of that Chapter again, you find any thing contrary to this, I beg the Favour of you to mark it to me, that I may correct it, for it is not what I think true. Some Parts of that third Book, concerning Words, tho' the Thoughts were easy and clear enough, yet cost me more Pains to express than all the rest of my *Essay*; and therefore I shall not much wonder, if there be in some Places of it Obscurity and Doubtfulness. It would be a great Kindness from my Readers to oblige me, as you have done, by telling me any thing they find amiss; for the printed Book being more for others Use than my own, 'tis fit I should accommodate it to that as much as I can; which truly is my Intention.

That which you propose of turning my *Essay* into a Body of Logick and Metaphysicks, accommodated

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modated to the usual Forms, though I thank you very kindly for it, and plainly see in it the Care you have of the Education of young Scholars, which is a Thing of no small Moment, yet I fear I shall scarce find Time to do it; you have cut out other Work for me, more to my Liking, and I think of more Use. Besides that, if they have in this Book of mine what you think the Matter of these two Sciences, or what you will call them, I like the Method it is in, better than that of the Schools; where I think 'tis no small Prejudice to Knowledge, that Predicaments, Predicables, &c. being universally in all their Systems, come to be look'd on as necessary Principles, or unquestionable Parts of Knowledge, just as they are set down there. If Logick be the first Thing to be taught young Men, after Grammar, as is the usual Method, I think yet it should be nothing but Proposition and Syllogism. But that being in order to their disputing Exercises in the University, perhaps I may think those may be spared too; Disputing being but an ill (not to say the worst) Way to Knowledge. I say this, not as pretending to change, or find fault with what publick Allowance and establish'd Practice has settled in Universities; but to excuse my self to you, from whom I cannot allow my self to differ, without telling you the true Reasons of it: For I see so much Knowledge, Candor, and the Marks of so much good Will to Mankind in you, that there are few Men, whose Opinion I think ought to have so much Authority with me as yours. But as to the Method of Learning, perhaps I may entertain you more at large hereafter; only now let me ask you, since you mention Logick and Metaphysicks in relation to my Book, whether either of those Sciences may suggest to you any new Heads fit to be inserted into my *Essay* in a second Edition?

You

Mr. Locke, and several of his Friends. 27

You have done too much Honour to me, in the Recommendation I see you have given to my Book ; and I am the more pleas'd with it, because I think it was not done out of Kindness to one so much a Stranger to you as I then was. But yet pray do not think me so vain, that I dare assume to my self almost any Part of what you say of me in your last Letter. Could I find in my self any Reason you could have to flatter me, I should suspect you resolv'd to play the Courtier a little. But I know what Latitude civil and well-bred Men allow themselves with great Sincerity, where they are pleas'd, and Kindness warms them. I am sensible of the Obligation, and in Return shall only tell you, that I shall speedily set my self to obey your Commands, in the last Part of your Letter. I beg your Pardon for trespassing so much on your Patience, and am,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and most obliged Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, March 2, 169³.

Honour'd S I R,

YOURS of Jan. 20. came to my Hands just as I lay down on a Bed of Sickness, being a severe Cholick, that held me nigh five Weeks, and brought me very weak : This was the more grievous to me, in that it hinder'd me from giving that ready Answer to your Letters, which I desir'd ;
being

being very covetous, on all Opportunities, of keeping up a Correspondence with one for whom I have so great a Respect. I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recover'd; but yet weak, and have not yet stir'd abroad. I know the bare signifying this to you, is sufficient in my Excuse; so that, relying on your Pardon, I proceed to answer your last.

And first, Sir, believe me, that whatever Respect I have at any time us'd to you, has been the sincere Thoughts of my Heart, and not the vain Compliments that usually pass between Courtiers, and, how extravagant soever, are look'd upon as the Effects of good Breeding, and pass only as such by Licence. I think I know a worthy Man when I meet him; and they are so rare in the World, that no Honour is too great for those that are such. And I must plainly say it to your self, that so much Humanity, Candor, Condescension, and good Nature, join'd with so great Judgment, Learning, and Parts, I have not met with in any Man living, as in the Author of the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*. You so favourably entertain all Mens Objections, you are so desirous to hear the Sense of others, you are so tender in differing from any Man, that you have captivated me beyond Resistance. What you propose to add in those Places which I intimated to you, as seemingly repugnant to unwary Readers, *p.* 270. and 314, 315. is abundantly sufficient; unless you may think it convenient (for the Prevention of all manner of Scruple, and to shew your Readers that you are aware of the Objection that may be raised against these Passages) to add in the Margin a little Note to that Purpose, specifying the seeming Repugnancy that was in the first Edition, and that for the clearing thereof you have thus farther illustrated it in this. But this, as every thing else, I propose with all

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Submission to your better Judgment. Mentioning the marginal Note to you, minds me to intimate, that I should think it convenient in your next Edition to express the Abstract or Content of each Section in the Margin, and to spare (if you think fit) the Table of *Contents* at the latter end of the Book, though I think both may do best. I can assure you, for my own reading, and consulting your Book, I have put the Table of Contents to their respective Sections throughout the whole.

I am fully convinced by the Arguments you give me for not turning your Book into the scholastick Form of Logick and Metaphysics, and I had no other Reason to advise the other, but merely to get it promoted the easier in our University; one of the Businesses of which Places is to learn according to the old Forms. And this minds me to let you know the great Joy and Satisfaction of Mind I conceiv'd on your Promise of the Method of Learning; there could nothing be more acceptable to me than the Hopes thereof, and that on this Account: I have but one Child in the World, who is now nigh four Years old, and promises well; his Mother left him to me very young, and my Affections (I must confess) are strongly placed on him. It has pleas'd God, by the liberal Provisions of our Ancestors, to free me from the toiling Cares of providing a Fortune for him; so that my whole Study shall be to lay up a Treasure of Knowledge in his Mind, for his Happiness both in this Life and the next. And I have been often thinking of some Method for his Instruction, that may best obtain the End I propose. And now, to my great Joy, I hope to be abundantly supply'd by your Method. And my Brother has sometimes told me, that whilst he had the Happiness of your Acquaintance at *Leyden*, you were upon such a Work as this I desire; and that too at the Request

30 *Familiar LETTERS, between*

of a tender Father, for the Use of his only Son. Wherefore, good Sir, let me most earnestly intreat you by no Means to lay aside this infinitely useful Work, till you have finished it; for 'twill be of vast Advantage to all Mankind, as well as particularly to me, your entire Friend. And on this Consideration of Usefulness to Mankind, I will presume again to remind you of your *Discourse of Morality*; and I shall think my self very happy, if by putting you on the Thought, I should be the least Occasion of so great Good to the World. What I have more to say relating to your Book, is of little or no Moment; however, you so readily entertain all Mens Thoughts of your Works, that, futile as mine are, you shall have a Remark or two more from me.

But first to your Query, whether I know any new Heads, from Logick or Metaphysicks, to be inserted in the second Edition of your *Essay*? I answer, I know none; unless you think it may not do well to insist more particularly, and at large, on *Æternæ Veritates*, and the *Principium Individuationis*. Concerning the first, you have some Touches, pag. 281. § 31. p. 323. § 14. p. 345. § 14. and concerning the latter, p. 28. § 4. p. 40. § 12.

Pag. 96. *Seet. 9.* you assert, what I conceive is an Error in Fact, viz. *That a Man's Eye can distinguish a Second of a Circle, whereof it self is the Centre.* Whereas, 'tis certain, that few Mens Eyes can distinguish less than thirty Seconds, and most not under a Minute, or sixty Seconds, as is manifest from what Mr. Hook lays down in his *Animadversions* on the first Part of *Hevelii Machina cœlestis*, p. 8, 9, &c. But this, as I said before, is only an Error in Fact, and affects not the Doctrine laid down in the said Section.

Pag. 341. *Seet. 2.* you say, *The Existence of all Things without us (except only of God) is had by our Senses*: And, *P. 147. Seet. 33, 34, 35, 36.* you shew how the Idea we have of God is made up of the Ideas we have gotten by our Senses. Now this, though no Repugnancy, yet to unwary Readers may seem one, and therefore perhaps may deserve a fuller Expression. To me 'tis plain, that in *pag. 341.* you speak barely of the *Existence* of a God; and in *p. 147.* you speak of the *Ideas* that are ingredient in the complex Idea of God; that is, *p. 147.* you say, *That all the Ideas, ingredient in the Idea of a God, are had from Sense*; and *p. 341.* you only assert *that the Existence of this God, or that really there are united in one Being all these Ideas, is had, not from Sense, but Demonstration.* This to me seems your Sense, yet perhaps every Reader may not so readily conceive it; and therefore possibly you may think this Passage, *p. 341.* worth your farther Consideration and Addition.

I will conclude my tedious Lines with a jocosè Problem, that upon Discourse with several concerning your Book and Notions, I have proposèd to divers very ingenious Men, and could hardly ever meet with one, that, at first dash, would give me the Answer to it which I think true, till by hearing my Reasons they were convinced. 'Tis this: "Suppose a Man born blind, and now adult, "and taught by his Touch to distinguish between "a Cube and a Sphere (suppose) of Ivory, nighly "of the same Bigness, so as to tell when he felt "one and t'other, which is the Cube, which the "Sphere; suppose then the Cube and Sphere "plac'd on a Table, and the blind Man to be "made to see; *Query*, whether by his Sight, before he touch'd them, he could now distinguish "and

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“ and tell which is the Globe, which the Cube?
 “ I answer not; for though he has obtained the
 “ Experience of how a Globe, how a Cube affects
 “ his Touch, yet he has not yet attain’d the Ex-
 “ perience, that what affects his Touch so or so,
 “ must affect his Sight so or so; or that a pro-
 “ tuberant Angle in the Cube, that press’d his
 “ Hand unequally, shall appear to his Eye as it
 “ does in the Cube.” But of this enough; per-
 haps you may find some Place in your *Essay*, where-
 in you may not think it amiss to say something of
 this Problem.

I am extremely obliged to you for Mr. Boyle’s
 Book of the Air, which lately came to my Hands.
 ’Tis a vast Design, and not to be finish’d but by
 the united Labours of many Heads, and indefa-
 tigably prosecuted for many Years; so that I de-
 spair of seeing any thing complete therein. How-
 ever, if many will lend the same helping Hands
 that you have done, I should be in Hopes: And
 certainly there is not a Chapter, in all Natural
 Philosophy, of greater Use to Mankind, than
 what is here proposed. I am,

Worthy S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.



Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, 28 Mar. 1693.

S I R,

YOUR Silence, that spared me a great deal of Fear and Uneasiness, by concealing from me your Sickness till it was well over, is abundantly made amends for, by the Joy it brings me in the News of your Recovery. You have given me those Marks of your Kindness to me, that you will not think it strange that I count you amongst my Friends; and with those desiring to live with the Ease and Freedom of a perfect Confidence, I never accuse them to my self of Neglect or Coldness, when I fail to hear from them so soon as I expected or desired: Though had I known you so well before as I do now, since your last Letter, I should not have avoided being in Pain upon account of your Health.

I cannot at all doubt the Sincerity of any thing you say to me; but yet give me leave to think, that 'tis an Excess of Kindness alone could excuse it from looking like Compliment. But I am convinced you love your Friends extremely, where you have made choice of them, and then believe you can never think nor speak too well of them. I know not whether it belongs to a Man who gets once in Print, to read in his Book that it is perfect, and that the Author is infallible. Had I had such an *Opinion* of my own Sufficiency before I writ, my *Essay* would have brought me to another, and given me such a Sight of the Weakness of my Understanding, that I could not fail to suspect my self of Error and Mistake in many Things I had writ, and to desire all the Light I

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could

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could get from others to set me right. I have found you one of the likeliest to afford it me; your Clearness and Candor gave me the Confidence to ask your Judgment; and I take it for no small Assurance of your Friendship that you have given it me, and have condescended to advise me of the *Printer's* Faults, which gives me Hopes you have not concealed any you have observed in the Work it self. The marginal Summaries you desire of the Paragraphs, I shall take care to have added, were it only for your Sake; but I think too it will make the Book the more useful.

That Request of yours you press so earnestly upon me, makes me bemoan the Distance you are from me, which deprives me of the Assistance I might have from your Opinion and Judgment, before I ventur'd any thing into the Publick. 'Tis so hard to find impartial Freedom in one's Friends, or an unbiass'd Judgment any where, that amongst all the Helps of Conversation and Acquaintance, I know none more wanted, nor more useful, than speaking freely and candidly one's Opinion upon the Thoughts and Compositions of another intended for the Press. Experience has taught me that you are a Friend of this Rank, and therefore I cannot but heartily wish that a Sea between us did not hinder me from the Advantage of this good Office. Had you been within reach, I should have beg'd your severe Examination of what is now gone to the *Printer* at your Instance; I had rather I could have said upon your Perusal, and with your Correction. I am not, in my Nature, a Lover of Novelty nor Contradiction; but my Notions in this Treatise have run me so far out of the common Road and Practice, that I could have been glad to have had them allow'd by so sober a Judgment as yours,

or

or stopp'd, if they had appear'd impracticable or extravagant, from going any farther. That which your Brother tells you on this Occasion, is not wholly besides the Matter. The main of what I now publish, is but what was contain'd in several Letters to a Friend of mine, the greatest Part whereof were writ out of *Holland*. How your Brother came to know of it I have clearly forgot, and do not remember that ever I communicated it to any body there. These Letters, or at least some of them, have been seen by some of my Acquaintance here, who would needs persuade me 'twould be of use to publish them: Your Impatience to see them, has not, I assure you, slacken'd my Hand, or kept me in Suspense; and I wish now they were out, that you might the sooner see them, and I the sooner have your Opinion of them. I know not yet whether I shall set my Name to this Discourse, and therefore shall desire you to conceal it. You see I make you my Confessor, for you have made your self my Friend.

The Faults of the Press are, I find, upon a sedate Reading over of my Book, infinitely more than I could have thought: Those that you have observed I have corrected, and return you my Thanks; and, as far as I have gone in my Review, have added and alter'd several Things, but am not yet got so far as those Places you mark for the *Æternæ Veritates*, and *Principium Individuationis*, which I shall consider when I come to them, and endeavour to satisfy your Desire. *Malebranche's Hypothesis of seeing all Things in God*, being that from whence I find some Men would derive our Ideas, I have some Thoughts of adding a new Chapter, wherein I will examine it; having, as I think, something to say against it, that will shew the Weakness of it very clearly.

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But I have so little Love to Controversy, that I am not fully resolved. Some other Additions I have made I hope will not displease you, but I wish I could shew them you before they are in Print; for I would not make my Book bigger, unless it were to make it better.

I thank you for advising me of the Error about Sight, for indeed it was a great one in Matter of Fact; but it was in the Expression, for I meant a Minute, but by mistake called $\frac{1}{6^{\text{th}}}$ of a Degree, a Second. Your ingenious Problem will deserve to be published to the World.

The seeming Contradiction between what is said *p.* 147, and *p.* 341. is just as you take it, and I hope so clearly expressed, that it cannot be mistaken, but by a very unwary Reader, who cannot distinguish between an Idea in the Mind, and the real Existence of something out of the Mind answering that Idea. But I heartily thank you for your Caution, and shall take care how to prevent any such Mistake, when I come to that Place. My humble Service to your Brother. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.



Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, April 18, 1693.

S I R,

I Have lately received farther Testimonies of your Kindness and Friendship to me, in your last of *March* 28. which brings withal the welcome News of your having committed your Work *Of Education* to the Press; than which, I know not any thing that I ever expected with a more earnest Desire. What my Brother told me, relating to that Treatise, he had from your self in *Holland*; but, perhaps, you might have forgot what pass'd between you on that Occasion. I perceive you fear the Novelty of some Notions therein may seem extravagant; but, if I may venture to judge of the Author, I fear no such thing from him. I doubt not but the Work will be new and peculiar, as his other Performances; and this it is that renders them estimable and pleasant. He that travels the beaten Roads, may chance indeed to have Company; but he that takes his Liberty, and manages it with Judgment, is the Man that makes useful Discoveries, and most beneficial to those that follow him. Had *Columbus* never ventur'd farther than his Predecessors, we had yet been ignorant of a vast Part of our Earth, preferable (as some say) to all the other three. And if none may be allow'd to try the Ocean of Philosophy farther than our Ancestors, we shall have but little Advancements or Discoveries made in the *Mundus Intellectualis*; wherein, I believe, there is much more unknown than what we have yet found out.

I should very much approve of your adding a Chapter in your *Essay*, concerning *Malebranche's Hypothesis*. As there are Enthusiasms in Divinity, so there are in Philosophy; and as one proceeds from not consulting, or misapprehending the Book of God, so the other from not reading and considering the Book of Nature. I look upon *Malebranche's* Notions, or rather *Plato's*, in this Particular, as perfectly unintelligible: And if you will engage in a Philosophick Controversy, you cannot do it with more Advantage than in this Matter. What you lay down concerning our Ideas and Knowledge, is founded and confirmed by Experiment and Observation, that any Man may make in himself, or the Children he converses with, wherein he may note the gradual Steps that we may make in Knowledge. But *Plato's* Fancy has no Foundation in Nature, but is merely the Product of his own Brain.

I know 'tis none of your Business to engage in Controversy, or remove Objections, save only such as seem immediately to strike at your own Positions; and therefore I cannot insist upon what I am now going to mention to you. However, I will give you the Hint, and leave the Consideration thereof to your own Breast. The 10th Chapter of your ivth Book, is a most exact Demonstration of the *Existence of a God*: But perhaps it might be more full, by an Addition against the *Eternity of the World*, and that all Things have not been going on in the same Manner as we now see them *ab aeterno*. I have known a Pack of Philosophical Atheists, that rely much on this *Hypothesis*; and even *Hobbs* himself does somewhere alledge (if I am not forgetful, 'tis in his Book *De Corpore*, in the Chapter *De Universo*) *That the same Arguments, which are brought against*

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against the Eternity of the World, may serve as
well against the Eternity of the Creator of the World.
I am,

Honour'd S I R,

Your most affectionate,

devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, 15 July, 1693.

S I R,

I Had not been so long before I had acknowledged the Favour of your last, had not I a Design to give you at large an Account of some Alterations I intended to make in the Chapter of *Power*, wherein I should have been very glad you had shewn me any Mistake. I my self not being very well satisfied, by the Conclusion I was led to, that my Reasonings were perfectly right, review'd that Chapter again with great Care, and by observing only the Mistake of one Word (*viz.* having put *Things* for *Actions*, which was very easy to be done in the Place where it is, *viz.* p. 123. as I remember, for I have not my Book by me here in Town) I got into a new View of Things; which, if I mistake not, will satisfy you, and give a clearer Account of Human Freedom than hitherto I have done, as you will perceive by these Summaries of the following Sections of that Chapter:

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- § 28. *Volition is the ordering of some Action by Thought.*
- § 29. *Uneasiness determines the Will.*
- § 30. *Will must be distinguished from Desire.*
- § 31. *The greater Good in View barely consider'd, determines not the Will. The Joys of Heaven are often neglected.*
- § 32. *Desire determines the Will.*
- § 33. *Desire is an Uneasiness.*
- § 34. *The greatest present Uneasiness usually determines the Will, as is evident in Experience. The Reasons.*
- § 35. *Because Uneasiness being a Part of Unhappiness, which is first to be removed in our Way to Happiness.*
- § 36. *Because Uneasiness alone is present.*
- § 37. *The Uneasiness of other Passions have their Share with Desire.*
- § 38. *Happiness alone moves the Desire.*
- § 39. *All absent Good not desired, because not necessary to our Happiness.*
- § 40. *The greatest Uneasiness does not always determine the Will, because we can suspend the Execution of our Desires.*

This short Scheme may perhaps give you so much Light into my present *Hypothesis*, that you will be able to judge of the Truth of it; which I beg you to examine by your own Mind. I wish you were so near that I could communicate it to you at large, before it goes to the Press. But it is so much too long for a Letter, and the Press will be so ready to stay for it before it is finished, that I fear I shall not be able to have the Advantage of your Thoughts upon the whole Thread of my Deduction. For I had much rather have your Corrections, whilst they might contribute to make it

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it receive your Approbation, than flatter my self before-hand that you will be pleased with it.

I hope, ere this, you have receiv'd from Mr. — that which I promised you the Beginning of this Spring. I must desire your Opinion of it without Reserve; for I should not have ventur'd, upon any other Condition, to have own'd, and presented to you such a Trifle. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, August 12, 1693.

S I R,

YOURS of July 15. came to my Hands about a Fortnight since; and I had, ere this, acknowledged the Favour thereof, but that I waited the Arrival of your much desired Piece, *Of Education*, which came not to me till about three Days ago. I immediately set my self to read it, as all Things from its Author, with the utmost Attention; and I find it answerable to the highest Expectations I had of it. And since, with your usual Modesty, you are pleased to require my Thoughts more particularly concerning it, I shall with all Freedom, but at the same Time with all Deference, propose them to you, not doubting of your favourable Interpretation and Pardon, where you see it needful. And first, in general, I think you propose nothing in your whole Book but what is very reasonable, and very practicable, except only in one Particular, which seems

seems to bear hard on the tender Spirits of Children, and the natural Affections of Parents: 'Tis pag. 117, 118. where you advise, *That a Child should never be suffer'd to have what he craves, or so much as speaks for, much less if he cries for it.* I acknowledge what you say in explaining this Rule, Sect. 101. in relation to natural Wants, especially that of *Hunger*, may be well enough allow'd; but in Sect. 102. where you come to apply it to *Wants of Fancy and Affectation*, you seem too strict and severe. You say indeed, *This will teach them to stifle their Desires, and to practise Modesty and Temperance:* But, for teaching these Virtues, I conceive we shall have Occasions enough in relation to their hurtful Desires, without abridging them so wholly in Matters indifferent and innocent, that tend only to divert and please their busy Spirits. You allow indeed, *That 'twould be Inhumanity to deny them those Things one perceives would delight them:* If so, I see no reason why, in a modest Way, and with Submission to the Wills of their Superiors, they may not be allow'd to declare what will delight them. No, say you; *but in all Wants of Fancy and Affectation, they should never, if once declared, be hearken'd to, or comply'd with.* This I can never agree to, it being to deny that Liberty between a Child and its Parents, as we desire, and have granted us, between Man and his Creator. And as in this Case Man is allow'd to declare his Wants, and with Submission to recommend his Requests to God; so I think Children may be allow'd, by their Parents or Governors. And as between the Creature and the Creator all manner of repining, upon Denial or Disappointment, is forbidden; so in the Case of Children, all Frowardness or Discontent, upon a Refusal, is severely to be reprimanded.

But

But thus far I agree with you in the whole, That whether it be in Wants natural or fanciful, that they express their Desires in a froward, humour-some Manner, there they should be surely deny'd them. A farther Reason for my allowing Children a Liberty of expressing their innocent Desires, is, that the contrary is impracticable; and you must have the Children almost moap'd for want of Diverfion and Recreation, or else you must have those about them study nothing all Day but how to find Employment for them: And how this would rack the Invention of any Man alive, I leave you to judge. And besides, were it an easy Task for any adult Person to study the Fancy, the unaccountable Fancy, and Diverfion of Children, the whole Year round; yet it would not prove delightful to a Child, being not his own Choice. But this, you'll say, is what you would have imprinted on them, that they are not to chuse for themselves: But why not in harmless Things, and Plays or Sports, I see no Reason. In all Things of Moment, let them live by the Conduct of others wiser than themselves.

This, Sir, is all, that in your whole Book I stick at; to all the rest I could subscribe. And I am not a little pleased, when I consider that my own Management of my only little One has hitherto been agreeable, in the main, to your Rules, save only in what relates to his hardy Breeding; which I was cautious in, because he is come from a tender and sickly Mother; but the Child himself is hitherto (God be thanked) very healthful, though not very strong.

The Rules you give for the correcting of Children, and implanting in their Minds an early Sense of Praise or Dispraise, of Repute and Dishonour, are certainly very just.

The

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The Contrivances you propose for teaching them to read and write, are very ingenious. And because I have practised one much of the same Nature, I'll venture to describe it. " 'Tis by writing Syllables and Words in Print-hand, on the " Face of a Pack of Cards, with Figures or Cyphers adjoin'd to each Word; by which I can " form twenty several Sorts of Games, that shall " teach Children both to read and count at the " same Time; and this with great Variety." One Thing more I shall venture to add to what you direct concerning Writing; that is, I will have my Son taught Short-hand; I do not mean to that Perfection as to copy a Speech from the Mouth of a ready Speaker, but to be able to write it readily for his own private Business. Believe me, Sir, 'tis as useful a Knack as a Man of Business, or any Scholar can be Master of; and I have found the Want of it my self, and seen the Advantage of it in others frequently.

You are certainly in the right of it, relating to the Manner of acquiring Languages, *French, Latin, &c.* and in what you lay down concerning Grammar-Schools, Themes, Verses, and other Learning. But above all, what you direct in every Particular, for the forming of Childrens Minds, and giving them an early Turn to Morality, Virtue, Religion, &c. is most excellent.

And I can only say in general, that I can give no better Proof of my liking your Book in all these Precepts, than by a strict Observance of them in the Education of my own Son, which I shall pursue (God willing) as exactly as I can. One Thing I fear I shall be at a loss in, that is, a Tutor agreeable to the Character you prescribe. But in this neither shall my Endeavours be wanting, tho'

I leave him the worse Estate, to leave him the better Mind.

I could heartily have wish'd you had been more particular in naming the Authors you would advise Gentlemen to read, and be conversant in, in the several Parts of Learning you recommend to their Study. Had you done this, I know no *Logick* that deserves to be named, but the *Essay of Human Understanding*. So that I fear you would rather have left that Head open, than recommended your own Work.

The last Thing I shall take notice of, is what mightily pleases me, it being the very Thought of my own Mind these many Years; which is, your *recommending a manual Trade to all Gentlemen*. This I have ever been for, and have wonder'd how it comes to pass that 'tis so generally neglected; but the lazy, effeminate Luxuriousness, that over-runs the Nation, occasions the Neglect thereof. *Painting* I have ever design'd for my Son; but you have rais'd two Objections against it, that are not easily answer'd; especially its taking up so much Time to attain a Mastery in it.

I have now given you my Opinion of your Book, and now I am obliged to thank you for sending me a Present which I so highly value.

As to that Part of your Letter relating to the Alterations you have made in your *Essay concerning Man's Liberty*, I dare not venture, upon those short Hints you give me, to pass my Opinion. But, now that you have discovered it to me, I plainly perceive the Mistake of *Sect. 28. p. 123.* where you put *Thing* for *Action*.: And I doubt not, but in your next Edition, you will fully rectify this Matter. And I could advise you to hasten that Edition with what Speed you can, lest Foreigners

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reigners undertake a Translation of your first, without your second Thoughts. Thus they have served me, by translating into *Latin*, and printing my *Dioptricks* in *Holland*, when I have now by me a Translation of my own of that Work, with many Amendments and large Additions.

Pray, Sir, let me beg the Favour of your Correspondence as frequently as you can, for nothing is more acceptable to

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 23 Aug. 1693.

S I R,

YOURS of *August* 12. which I received last Night, eased me of a great deal of Pain your Silence had for some time put me in; for you must allow me to be concern'd for your Health, as for a Friend that I could not think in Danger, or a Disease, without a Concern and Trouble, suitable to that great Esteem and Love I have for you. But you have made me Amends plentifully, by the Length and Kindness, and, let me add too, the Freedom of your Letter. For the Approbation you so largely give to my Book is the more welcome to me, and gives me the better Opinion of my Method, because it has join'd with it your Exception to one Rule of it; which I am apt to think you your self, upon second Thoughts, will have remov'd, before I say any thing to your Objections. It confirms to me that you are the good-natur'd

natur'd Man I took you for; and I do not at all wonder that the Affection of a kind Father should startle at it, at first Reading, and think it very severe, that Children should not be suffer'd to express their Desires; for so you seem to understand me. And such a Restraint, you fear, *would be apt to moap them, and hinder their Diversion.* But if you please to look upon the Place, and observe my Drift, you will find that they should not be indulged, or complied with, in any Thing their Conceits have made a Want to them, as necessary to be supplied. What you say, *That Children would be moap'd for want of Diversion and Recreation, or else we must have those about them study nothing all Day but how to find Employment for them; and how this would rack the Invention of any Man living, you leave me to judge,* seems to intimate as if you understood that Children should do nothing but by the Prescription of their Parents or Tutors, chalking out each Action of the whole Day in train to them. I hope my Words express no such Thing, for it's quite contrary to my Sense, and I think would be useless Tyranny in their Governors, and certain Ruin to the Children. I am so much for Recreation, that I would, as much as possible, have all they do be made so. I think Recreation as necessary to them as their Food, and that nothing can be Recreation which does not delight. This, I think, I have so expressed; and when you have put that together, judge whether I would not have them have the greatest Part of their Time left to them, without Restraint, to divert themselves any way they think best, so it be free from vicious Actions, or such as may introduce vicious Habits. And therefore if they should ask to play, it could be no more interpreted a *Want of Fancy*, than if they ask'd

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ask'd for Victuals when hungry; though where the Matter is well order'd, they will never need to do that: For when they have either done what their Governor thinks enough in any Application to what is usually made their Business, or are perceiv'd to be tir'd with it, they should of course be dismissed to their innocent Diversions, without ever being put to ask for it. So that I am for the full Liberty of Diversion as much as you can be; and upon a second Perusal of my Book, I do not doubt but you will find me so. But being allow'd that, as one of their natural Wants, they should not yet be permitted to let loose their Desires or Importunities for what they fancy. Children are very apt to covet what they see those above them in Age have or do, to have or do the like, especially if it be their elder Brothers and Sisters. Does one go Abroad? The other strait has a mind to it too. Has such an one new, or fine Cloaths, or Play-Things? They, if you once allow it them, will be impatient for the like, and think themselves ill dealt with, if they have it not. This being indulged when they are little, grows up with their Age, and with that enlarges it self to Things of greater Consequence, and has ruined more Families in the World than one. This should be suppressed in its very first Rise; and the Desires you would not have encouraged, you should not permit to be spoken, which is the best Way for them to silence them to themselves. Children should by constant Use learn to be very modest in owning their Desires, and careful not to ask any thing of their Parents, but what they have reason to think their Parents will approve of: And a Reprimand upon their ill bearing a Refusal comes too late, the Fault is committed and allow'd; and if you allow them to ask, you can scarce

scarce think it strange they should be troubled to be deny'd: So that you suffer them to engage themselves in the Disorder, and then think the fittest Time for a Cure; and, I think, the surest and easiest Way is Prevention. For we must take the same Nature to be in Children, that is in grown Men; and how often do we find Men take ill to be deny'd what they would not have been concerned for, if they had not asked? But I shall not enlarge any farther in this, believing you and I shall agree in the Matter; and indeed it is very hard, and almost impossible, to give general Rules of Education, when there is scarce any one Child, which in some Cases should not be treated differently from another. All that we can do in general, is only to shew what Parents and Tutors should aim at, and leave to them the ordering of particular Circumstances, as the Case shall require.

One Thing give me leave to be importunate with you about: You say your Son is not very strong; to make him strong, you must use him hardly, as I have directed; but you must be sure to do it by very insensible Degrees, and begin an Hardship you would bring him to only in the Spring. This is all the Caution needs be used. I have an Example of it in the House I live in, where the only Son of a very tender Mother was almost destroy'd by a too tender Keeping. He is now, by a contrary Usage, come to bear Wind and Weather, and Wet in his Feet; and the Cough, which threaten'd him under that warm and cautious Management, has left him, and is now no longer his Parents constant Apprehension as it was.

I am of your Mind as to Short-Hand: I myself learned it since I was a Man, but had forgot

to put it in when I writ ; as I have, I doubt not, overseen a thousand other Things, which might have been said on this Subject. But it was only at first a short Scheme for a Friend, and is published to excite others to treat it more fully.

I know not whether it would be useful to make a Catalogue of Authors to be read by a young Man, or whether it could be done, unless one knew the Child's Temper, and what he was designed to.

My *Essay* is now very near ready for another Edition ; and, upon Review of my Alterations, concerning what determines the *Will*, in my cool Thoughts I am apt to think them to be right, as far as my Thoughts can reach in so nice a Point ; and, in short, is this. *Liberty* is a Power to act or not to act, accordingly as the Mind directs. A Power to direct the operative Faculties to Motion or Rest, in particular Instances, is that which we call the *Will*. That, which in the Train of our voluntary Actions determines the Will to any Change of Operation, is some present *Uneasiness*, which is, or at least is always accompanied with that of *Desire*. *Desire* is always moved by Evil to fly it ; because a total Freedom from Pain always makes a necessary Part of our Happiness. But every *Good*, nay every *greater Good*, does not constantly move Desire, because it may not make, or may not be taken to make any necessary Part of our Happiness ; for all that we desire, is only to be happy. But though this general Desire of Happiness operates constantly and invariably in us ; yet the Satisfaction of any particular Desire can be suspended from determining the Will to any subservient Action, till we have maturely examined whether the particular apparent Good we then desire, make a Part of our real Happiness, or be consistent or inconsistent with it. The Result of

our Judgment, upon Examination, is what ultimately determines the Man, who could not be *free*, if his Will were determined by any thing but his own Desire, guided by his own Judgment. This, in short, is what I think of this Matter: I desire you to examine it by your own Thoughts. I think I have so well made out the several Particulars where I treat them at large, that they have convinced some I have shewn them to here, who were of another Mind; and therefore how much soever contrary to the receiv'd Opinion, I think I may publish them: But I would first have your judicious and free Thoughts, which I much rely on; for you love Truth for it self, and me so well, as to tell it me without Disguise.

You will herewith receive a new Chapter of *Identity and Diversity*, which having writ only at your Instance, 'tis fit you should see and judge of it before it goes to the Press. Pray send me your Opinion of every Part of it. You need not send back the Papers, but your Remarks on the Paragraphs you shall think fit, for I have a Copy here.

You desir'd me too to enlarge more particularly about eternal Verities, which, to obey you, I set about, but upon Examination find all general Truths are eternal Verities, and so there is no entering into Particulars; though, by mistake, some Men have selected some, as if they alone were eternal Verities. I never, but with Regret, reflect on the Distance you are from me; and am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

*Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.**Dublin, Sept. 16, 1693.**Honour'd S I R,*

I Have yours from *Oates of Aug. 23.* with your Chapter of *Identity and Diversity*; and I acknowledge my self extremely obliged to you, for being at all that Thought on my Account. However, I repent not of the Trouble I gave you therein, seeing the Effects thereof; such clear Reasoning, and profound Judgment, that convinces and delights at once. And I protest, Sir, 'tis to me the hardest Task in the World, to add any Thing to, or make any Remarks upon what you deliver therein; every Thing you write therein is deliver'd with such convincing Reason, that I fully assent to all; and to make Remarks where I have no room to say any Thing, would please neither you nor my self. And to shew you that I would not wholly rely on my own Examination of your Chapter, I imparted it to others, desiring their Censure of it; but still, with the same Event, all acknowledg'd the Clearness of the Reasoning, and that nothing more was left to be said on the Subject.

The Answer you make to what I writ on your Thoughts of *Education*, does fully satisfy me. But I assure you, Sir, I was not the only Person shock'd at that Passage. I find several stumble at it, as taking little Play-Things, that Children are very apt to desire and ask for, to be Matters of Fancy and Affectation, within your Rule. But seeing, in your last Letter, you confine Desires of Fancy and Affectation to other Matters, I am satisfy'd in this Business.

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I can say no more to the Scheme you lay down of *Man's Liberty*, but that I believe it very just, and will answer in all Things. I long to see the second Edition of your *Essay*; and then, if any thing offers, I'll give you my Thoughts more fully.

I am very sensible how closely you are engaged, till you have discharged this Work off your Hands; and therefore I will not venture, till it be over, to press you again to what you have promis'd in the Business of Man's Life, *Morality*. But you must expect that I shall never be forgetful of that, from which I propose so great Good to the World, and so much Satisfaction to

Your most entirely affectionate

Humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Dec. 23, 1693.

Honour'd S I R,

I Have now read over your *Essay of Human Understanding* a third Time, and always make new Discoveries therein of something profound. I should set upon it again, but that I will wait for your next Edition, which I hope by this Time is almost finished. The usual Satisfaction I take in reading all Things that come from you, made me lately again run over your Chapter of *Identity* and *Diversity*; concerning the Justness whereof, I have yet the same Opinion as formerly. But one Thought suggested it self to me, which on my

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first Reading did not occur. It relates to *Seet. 22.* wherein the Reason you give, why the Law may justly punish a sober Man for what he did when drunk, or a waking Man for what he did when walking in his Sleep, though it be true and full in the Case of the Night-walker, yet I conceive it not so full in the Case of the drunken Man. For Drunkenness is it self a Crime, and therefore no one shall alledge it an Excuse of another Crime. And in the Law we find, *That Killing a Man by Chance-Medley is not Capital*; yet if I am doing an unlawful Act, as shooting at a Deer in a Park to steal it; and by Chance-Medley I kill a Man unawares, this is Capital; because the Act wherein I was engaged, and which was the Occasion of this Mischief, was in it self unlawful, and I cannot plead it in Excuse. In the Case of the Night-walker your Answer is true, full, and satisfactory; but that in the Drunkard's Case is somewhat short. The Night-walking is a sort of Distemper, not to be help'd or prevented by the Patient. But Drunkenness is a deliberate Act, which a Man may easily avoid and prevent. Moreover, whatever the Law appoints in this Case, I think, were I on the Jury of one, who walking in his Sleep had kill'd another, I should not violate a good Conscience if I acquitted him; for he is certainly, during those Fits, *Non compos mentis*; and it were easy to distinguish, by Circumstances, how far he counterfeited or not.

You will very much oblige me, by a Line or two, to let me know how forward your Work is, and what other Things you have on the Anvil before you; amongst which, I hope you will not forget your *Thoughts on Morality*: For I am obliged to prosecute this Request to you, being the first, I presume, that moved you in it.

There

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There is a Gentleman in this Town, one Captain *Henry Monk*, a nigh Relation of the *Albemarles*, who tells me he has been known to you long ago; and, on all Occasions, mentions you with the highest Respects: He desired me the other Day to give you his most humble Service. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most obedient Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 19 Jan. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Honour'd S I R,

I Can take it for no other than a great Mark of your Kindness to me, that you spend so much of your Time in the Perusal of my Thoughts, when you have so much better of your own to improve it. To which you add this farther Obligation, that you read my Book for my Instruction, still taking Notice to me of what you judge amiss in it. This is a good Office, that so few in the World perform in the way that you do, that it deserves my particular Acknowledgment. And I own my self no less beholden to you when I differ from you, than when, convinced by your better Judgment, you give me Opportunity to mend what before was amiss; your Intention being that, to which I equally, in both Cases, owe my Gratitude.

You doubt whether my Answer be full in the Case of the Drunkard. To try whether it be or no, we must consider what I am there doing.

As I remember (for I have not that Chapter here by me) I am there shewing that Punishment is annexed to Personality, and Personality to Conscioness: How then can a Drunkard be punished for what he did, whereof he is not conscious? To this I answer, Human Judicatures justly punish him, because the Fact is proved against him; but want of Conscioness cannot be proved for him. This you think not sufficient, but would have me add the common Reason, That Drunkenness being a Crime, one Crime cannot be alledged in Excuse for another. This Reason, how good soever, cannot, I think, be used by me, as not reaching my Case; for what has this to do with Conscioness? Nay, it is an Argument against me; for if a Man may be punished for any Crime, which he committed when drunk, whereof he is allowed not to be conscious, it overturns my *Hypothesis*. Your Case of shooting a Man by Chance, when stealing a Deer, being made Capital, and the like, I allow to be just; but then, pray consider, it concerns not my Argument; there being no Doubt of Conscioness in that Case, but only shews, that any criminal Action infects the Consequences of it. But Drunkenness has something peculiar in it, when it destroys Conscioness; and so the Instances you bring justify not the punishing of a drunken Fact, that was totally and irrecoverably forgotten, which the Reason that I give being sufficient to do, it well enough removed the Objection, without entering into the true Foundation of the Thing, and shewing how far it was reasonable for Human Justice to punish a Crime of a Drunkard, which he could be supposed not conscious of, which would have uselessly engaged me in a very large Discourse, and an impertinent Digression. For I ask
you,

you, if a Man by intemperate Drinking should get a Fever, and in the Frenzy of his Disease (which lasted not perhaps above an Hour) committed some Crime, would you punish him for it? If you would not think this just, how can you think it just to punish him for any Fact committed in a drunken Frenzy, without a Fever? Both had the same criminal Cause, *Drunkenness*, and both committed without Consciouness. I shall not enlarge any farther into other particular Instances, that might raise Difficulties about the punishing or not punishing the Crime of an unconscious drunken Man, which would not easily be resolved, without enquiring into the Reason upon which Human Justice ought to proceed in such Cases, which was beyond my present Business to do. Thus, Sir, I have laid before you the Reasons why I have let that Passage go without any Addition made to it. I desire you to lay by your Friendship to me, and only to make Use of your Judgment in considering them. And if you are still of Opinion that I need give the Reason too, that one Crime cannot be alledged in Excuse of another, I beg the Favour of you to let me know it as soon as I can, that I may add what is necessary in this Place amongst the *Errata*, before my Book comes out, which advances now apace, and I believe there are, by this Time, near an hundred and fifty Pages of it printed. And now, Sir, though I have not agreed with your Opinion in this Point; yet, I beseech you, believe I am as much obliged to your Kindness in it, as if you had shewn me what, upon your Reason, had appear'd to me the grossest Mistake; and I beg the Favour of you, whenever you cast your Eye upon any of my Writings, to continue and communicate to me your Remarks.

You

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You write to me, as if Ink had the same Spell upon me, that Mortar, as the *Italians* say, has upon others, that when I had once got my Fingers into it, I could never afterwards keep them out. I grant, that methinks I see Subjects enough, which way ever I cast my Eyes, that deserve to be otherwise handled, than I imagine they have been ; but they require abler Heads, and stronger Bodies than I have, to manage them. Besides, when I reflect on what I have done, I wonder at my own bold Folly, that has so far exposed me in this nice and critical, as well as quick-sighted and learned Age. I say not this to excuse a lazy Idleness, to which I intend to give up the rest of my few Days. I think every one, according to what way Providence has placed him in, is bound to labour for the publick Good as far as he is able, or else he has no Right to eat. Under this Obligation of doing something, I cannot have a stronger to determine me what I shall do, than what your Desires shall engage me in. I know not whether the Attempt will exceed my Strength. But there being several here who join with you to press me to it ; (I received a Letter with the same Instance, from two of my Friends at *London*, the last Post) I think, the first Leisure I can get to my self, I shall apply my Thoughts to it ; and however I may miss my Aim, will justify my self in my Obedience to you, and some others of my ingenious Friends.

I am exceedingly oblig'd to Captain *Monk* for his kind Remembrance, and to you for sending it me, and letting me know he is alive. I have, as I ought, all the Esteem for him, that you know so modest and good a Man deserves. Pray, when you see him, present my humble Service to him, and let him know that I am extremely glad

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to hear that he is well, and that he has not forgot me, and should be much more so to see him here again in *England*. Pray, give my humble Service to your Brother. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most humble,

and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Febr. 16, 1694.

S I R,

I Am so very sensible of the great Caution, and deep Consideration you use before you write any Thing, that I wonder at my own Hardiness when I venture to object any Thing against your Positions. And when I read your Answers to any of such my Objections, I much more admire at my own Weakness in making them. I have a new Instance of this in your last of *January* 18. which came not to this Place before Yesterday. This has most abundantly satisfied me in the Doubt I lay under, concerning the Case of a drunken Man; which you have clear'd up to me in three Words most convincingly. So that I think you have no Reason in the least to alter that Paragraph, unless you may think it convenient to express that Matter a little plainer. Which I think indeed your last Letter to me does better than your twenty second Section of that Chapter. That Section runs thus :

22. *But*

22. But is not a Man, drunk and sober, the same Person? Why else is he punished for the Fact he commits when drunk, though he be never afterwards conscious of it? Just as much the same Person, as a Man that walks, and does other Things in his Sleep, is the same Person, and is answerable for any Mischief he shall do in it. Human Laws punish both with a Justice suitable to their way of Knowledge; because in these Cases they cannot distinguish certainly what is real, what counterfeit. And so the Ignorance in Drunkenness or Sleep is not admitted as a Plea, &c.

Now I conceive, that which makes the Expression herein not so very clear, is *suitable to their way of Knowledge*. Some will be apt to mistake the Word *their* to refer to the drunken or sleeping Man, whereas it refers to the Laws; as if you had said, "Suitable to that way of Knowledge or Information, which the Laws have established to proceed by."

This, in your Letter, is very manifest in a few Words. There you say, *Punishment is annexed to Personality, Personality to Consciousness*. How then can a Drunkard be punished for what he did, whereof he is not conscious? To this I answer, Human Judicatures justly punish him, because the Fact is proved against him; but want of Consciousness cannot be proved for him. This, Sir, is most full in the Case you are there treating of. So I have nothing more to offer in that Matter.

Only give me leave to propose one Question more to you, though it be foreign to the Business you are upon in your Chapter of Identity. How comes it to pass, that Want of Consciousness cannot be proved for a Drunkard as well as for a Frenck? One, methinks, is as manifest as the other; and if Drunkenness may be counterfeit,

so

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to may a Frenzy. Wherefore to me it seems that the Law has made a Difference in these two Cases, on this Account, *viz.* "That Drunkenness is commonly incurr'd voluntarily and premeditately; whereas a Frenzy is commonly without our Consent, or impossible to be prevented." But enough of this.

I should not have troubled you with this, but that according to your usual Candor and Goodness, you seem'd to desire my farther Thoughts thereon, as speedily as I could. I am,

Most worthy S I R,

Your most obliged,

humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, 26 May, 1694.

S I R,

THE Slowness of the Press has so long retarded my Answer to your last obliging Letter, that my Book, which is now printed and bound, and ready to be sent to you, must be an Excuse for my long Silence. By the Obedience I have pay'd to you in the Index and Summaries order'd according to your Desires, you will see 'tis not Want of Deference to you, or Esteem of you, that has caused this Neglect. And the Profit I have made by your Reflections on several Passages

sages of my Book, will, I hope, encourage you to the Continuance of that Freedom, to a Man who can distinguish between the Censures of a judicious Friend, and the Wrangling of a peevish Critick. There is nothing more acceptable to me than the one, nor more, I think, to be slighted than the other. If therefore, as you seem to resolve, you shall throw away any more of your Time in a Perusal of my *Essay*; judge, I beseech you, as severely as you can of what you read. I know you will not forsake Truth to quarrel with me; and whilst you follow her you will always oblige me, by shewing me my Mistakes, or what seems to you to be so. You will find, in this second Edition, that your Advice at any Time has not been thrown away upon me. And you will see by the *Errata*, that though your last came a little too late, yet that could not hinder me from following what you so kindly, and with so much Reason, suggested.

I agree with you, that Drunkenness being a voluntary Defect, want of Consciousness ought not to be presum'd in Favour of the Drunkard. But Frenzy, being involuntary, and a Misfortune, not a Fault, has a Right to that Excuse, which certainly is a just one where it is truly a Frenzy. And all that lies upon human Justice is, to distinguish carefully between what is real, and what counterfeit in the Case.

My Book, which I desire you to accept from me, is put into Mr. *Churchill* the Bookseller's Hand, who has told me he will send it in a Bale of Books, the next Week, to Mr. *Dobson*, a Bookseller in *Castle-street, Dublin*; and I have order'd him to send it with a Copy of the Additions and Alterations which are printed by themselves,

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selves, and will help to make your former Book
useful to any young Man, as you will see (is de-
sign'd) by the Conclusion of the Epistle to the
Reader. I am,

S I R,

*Your most affectionate,
and most humble Servant,*

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, June 2, 1694.

S I R,

I Am highly obliged to you for the Favour of
your last, of *May* 26. which I received
Yesterday. It brought me the welcome News of
the second Edition of your *Essay* being published;
and that you have favour'd me with a Copy,
which I shall expect with some Impatience; and
when I have perused it, I shall, with all Free-
dom, give you my Thoughts of it.

And now that you have clear'd your Hands of
your second Edition, I hope you may have Lei-
sure to turn your Thoughts to the Subject I have
so often propos'd to you; but this, you will say,
is a Cruelty in me, that no sooner you are rid of
one Trouble, but I set you on another. Truly, Sir,
were I sensible it could be a Trouble to you, I
should hardly presume so far on your Goodness;
but I know those Things are so easy and natural
to your Mind, that they give you no Pain in the
Production. And I know also, such is your uni-
versal Love of Mankind, that you count nothing
trouble-

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troublesome that tends to their Good, in a Matter of so great Concernment as Morality.

I have formerly told you what Care I proposed to take in the Education of my only Child. I must now beg your Pardon if I trouble you in a Matter, wherein I shall be at a Loss without your Assistance. He is now five Years old, of a most towardly and promising Disposition; bred exactly, as far as his Age permits, to the Rules you prescribe, I mean as to forming his Mind, and mastering his Passions. He reads very well, and I think it Time now to put him forward to some other Learning. In order to this, I shall want a Tutor for him, and indeed this Place can hardly afford me one to my Mind. If therefore you know any ingenious Man that may be proper for my Purpose, you would highly oblige me, by procuring him for me. I confess the Encouragement I can propose to such a one is but moderate, yet perhaps there may be some found that may not despise it. He should eat at my own Table, and have his Lodging, Washing, Firing and Candlelight in my House, in a good handsome Apartment; and besides this, I should allow him 20 *l. per Ann.* His Work for this should be only to instruct three or four Boys in *Latin*, and such other Learning as you recommend in your Book; I say three or four Boys, because perhaps I may have a Relation's Child or two; one who is my Sister's Son I have always, and do intend to keep as a Companion to my own Son; and of more I am uncertain. But if there be one or two, that will be no great Addition to his Trouble, considering, that perhaps their Parents may recompense that by their Gratuities. I mention to you, of the Languages, only *Latin*; but, if I could obtain it, I should be glad he were also Master

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ster of the *French*. As to his other Qualifications, I shall only say in general, I could wish them such as you desire in a Tutor, to instruct a young Gentleman as you propose in your Book. I would have him indeed a good Man, and a good Scholar ; and I propose very much Satisfaction to my self in the Conversation of such a one. And because a Man may be cautious of leaving his native Soil, and coming into a strange Country, without some Certainty of being acceptable to those that send for him, and of some Continuance and Settlement, I can say, that I design him to stay with my Son to his State of Manhood ; whether he go into the University, or travel, or whatever other State of Life he may take to. And if perhaps on Trial for some Time, he or I may not like each other, I do promise to bear his Charges both to and from me, so that he shall be no Loser by his Journey.

I beg your Answer to this at your Leisure ; and if any such present, be pleased to let me know of him what Particulars you can, as his Parentage, Education, Qualifications, Disposition, &c. with what other Particulars you please to mention ; and accordingly I shall write to you no farther about it.

In the mean Time, I beseech you to pardon this Trouble given you by,

Honoured S I R,

Your most affectionate,

and most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

E

Mr.

*Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.**London, 28 June, 1694.*

S I R,

SINCE the Receipt of yours of the second Instant, I have made what Enquiry I can for a Tutor for your Son ; the most likely, and the best recommended that I have met with, you will have an Account of from himself in the inclosed, to which I need add little but these two Things ; 1st, That Mr. *Fletcher*, who is a good Judge, and a Person whose Word I can rely on, gave me a very good Character of him, both as to his Manners and Abilities, and said he would be answerable for him : The other is, That however it comes to pass, the *Scotch* have now here a far greater Reputation for this Sort of Employment, than our own Country-men. I am sorry it is so, but I have of late found it in many Instances.

I hope, by this Time, the second Edition of my Book, which I ordered for you, and a printed Copy of the Additions, are come to your Hands. I wish it were more answerable to the Value you place on it, and better worth your Acceptation. But, as I order the Matter, methinks I make it a hard Bargain to you, to pay so much Time and Pains as must go to the reading it over, though it were more slightly than we seem agreed, when you promise, and I expect your Observations on it. There appears to me so little Material in the Objections that I have seen in Print against me, that I have passed them all by but one Gentleman's, whose Book not coming to my Hand till those Parts of mine were printed that he questions, I was fain to put my Answer in the latter End of the Epistle.

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I wish the Endeavours I have used to procure you a Tutor for your Son, may be as successful as I desire. 'Tis a Business of a great Concernment, to both you and your Son; but Governors, that have right Thoughts concerning Education, are hard to be found. 'Tis happy for your Son, that a good Part of it is to be under your Eye. I shall be very glad, if in this or any other Occasion, I may be able to do you any Service; for with great Sincerity and Respect I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, July 28, 1694.

My most honoured Friend,

FOR so you have publickly allow'd me to call * you; and 'tis a Title wherein I boast more than in Maces or Parliament-Robes. By this you may find I have received the second Edition of your *Essay*, which I prize as an inestimable Treasure of Knowledge. 'Tis but a Week since it came to me; and I have yet only look'd over those Parts which are newly added, particularly that of *Liberty*, the Alterations wherein I take to be most judiciously made; and now I think that whole Chapter stands so well put together, and the Argumentation is so legitimate, that

* See Mr. Locke's *Essay of Human Understanding*, 2d Edit. p. 68.

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nothing can shake it. I was mightily pleased to find therein a rational Account of what I have often wonder'd at, *viz. Why Men should content themselves to stay in this Life for ever, though at the same Time they will grant, that in the next Life they expect to be infinitely happy?* Of this you give so clear an Account in the 44th *Section* of your *xxist Chapter, Book II.* that my Wonder no longer remains. That candid *Recession* from your former *Hypothesis*, which you shew in this Chapter, where Truth requir'd it, raises in me a greater Opinion (if possible) of your Worth than ever. This is rarely to be found amongst Men, and they seem to have something Angelical, that are so far raised above the common Pitch.

In Time I shall give you my farther Thoughts of the other Parts of your Book, where any Thing occurs to me. But, at present, I can only pour out my Thanks to you for the favourable Character, under which you have transmitted me to Posterity, *pag. 67.* My only Concern is, that I can pretend to none of it, but that of your Friend; and this I set up for in the highest Degree. I should think my self happy had I but half the Title to the rest.

I am extremely obliged to you for the Trouble you took on you in my last Request, about a Tutor for my Son. I received your Letter with Mr. Gibbs's inclosed; to which I returned an Answer, address'd to himself: The Import whereof was, "That I had some Offers made
"to me in this Place, relating to that Matter,
"to which I thought I should hearken, at least
"so far as to make some Trial. That I was
"loth to divert him from his good Intentions to
"the Ministry, and therefore I could not en-
"courage

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 69

“ courage him to undertake so long a Journey,
“ on such Uncertainties on both Sides, &c.”
I am,

My most highly esteem'd Friend,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 3 Sept. 1694.

S I R,

I Have so much the Advantage in the Bargain,
if Friendship may be call'd one, that whatsoever Satisfaction you find in your self on that Account, you must allow in me with a large Overplus. The only Riches I have valued, or labour'd to acquire, has been the Friendship of ingenious and worthy Men, and therefore you cannot blame me if I so forwardly laid hold of the first Occasion that open'd me a Way to yours. That I have so well succeeded in it, I count one of my greatest Happinesses, and a sufficient Reward for writing my Book, had I no other Benefit by it. The Opinion you have of it, gives me farther Hopes; for it is no small Reward to one who loves Truth, to be persuaded that he has made some Discoveries of it, and any ways help'd to propagate it to others. I depend so much upon your Judgment and Candor, that I think my self secure in you from peevish Criticism or Flattery; only give me leave to suspect, that Kindness and Friendship do sometimes carry your Expressions a little too far on the favourable Side.

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This,

This, however, makes me not apprehend you will silently pass by any Thing you are not thoroughly satisfied of in it. The Use I have made of the Advertisements I have received from you of this Kind, will satisfy you that I desire this Office of Friendship from you, not out of Compliment, but for the Use of Truth, and that your Animadversions will not be lost upon me. Any Faults you shall meet with in Reasoning, in Perspicuity, in Expression, or of the Press, I desire you to take Notice of, and send me Word of: Especially if you have any where any Doubt; for I am persuaded, that, upon Debate, you and I cannot be of two Opinions; nor, I think, any two Men used to think with Freedom, who really prefer Truth to Opiniatrety, and a little foolish Vain-glory of not having made a Mistake.

I shall not need to justify what I have said of you in my Book: The learned World will be Vouchers for me; and that in an Age not very free from Envy and Censure. But you are very kind to me, since for my Sake you allow your self to own that Part which I am more particularly concern'd in, and permit me to call you *my Friend*, whilst your Modesty checks at the other Part of your Character. But assure your self, I am as well persuaded of the Truth of it, as of any Thing else in my Book, it had not else been put down in it: It only wants a great deal more I had to say, had that been a Place to draw your Picture at large. Herein I pretend not to any peculiar Obligation above others that know you. For though perhaps I may love you better than many others; yet, I conclude, I cannot think better of you than others do.

I am very glad you were provided of a Tutor nearer home, and it had this particular good Luck

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 71

Luck in it, that otherwise you had been disappointed, if you had depended on Mr. Gibbs; as a Letter I writ to you from *London* about it, I hope, acquainted you. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most affectionate,

and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 23 Nov. 1694.

S I R,

YOU speak of my Book in such Terms, that had I not convincing Arguments that you are not a Man of Compliments, I should a little suspect your Civility border'd very much on them in this Case. But there are so few of them to be found, that you think you cannot speak too highly of the Endeavours of one who pursues Truth unbiassedly, and chuses not his Opinions first, and then seeks Arguments to support them. Upon that Account I admit of whatever you please to say; but withal give me leave to assure you, that in the Performance it self, I see nothing but what any one might have done, who would have sat down to it with the same Love of Truth and Indifferency, that I did. However, I cannot but be pleased that you think so well of it: For whether your Friendship to me bribes your Judgment, or whether your good Opinion of my *Essay* adds to your kind Thoughts of the Author;

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I find my Account both Ways, and should think my self well rewarded for my Pains in this single Purchase. But, Sir, will you not pardon so lawful a Desire, in one that loves you, if I ask, Shall I never have the Happiness to see you in *England*?

Mr. *Churchill*, my Bookseller, sends me Word by the last Post, that he has sent you the six Copies that you sent for, and Advice of it. I sent to him a Project of a new Reduction of the Year by Dr. *Wood*, to be sent with the Copy of my *Essay* to you. The Author gave me it himself, and I thought it might possibly please you, if you had not seen it before. This, with the supernumerary Cuts, I order'd him to send you, will, with the Books, I hope, come safe to your Hands. The mentioning of those Cuts puts me in Mind again of your Civility, which I see studies all manner of Ways of expressing it self.

You see, by this Liberty I take with you, that I am past Terms of Compliment with you, that is, I use you as one I look upon to be my Friend, with a Freedom of good Offices, either to receive or do them, as it happens. Look upon me as such, I beseech you, and believe that I am, with the utmost Sincerity,

S I R,

Your most affectionate Friend,

and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Dec. 18, 1694.

S I R,

YOURS of November 23, found me labouring under a sharp Fever, which has held me this Month past; but I am now, God be thank'd, pretty well recover'd. I am obliged to you for the earnest Desire you express of seeing me in *England*. But, as to that Particular, the Truth is thus: Last Summer I designed to make a Journey, on purpose to pay my Respects to you, and for no other Errand; but my Resolutions were not so fix'd, as to give you any Intimations thereof; for indeed the State of my Health was so very uncertain, that I was very mistrustful whether I should be able to undertake the Journey. However, I thought to make an Essay of my Strength in our own Country; so that some Business calling me about threescore Miles from this City, the Fatigue was so troublesome to me, that I was quite discouraged from thinking of *England* that Season. I have now had another Pull-back, by my present Sicknes, so that I cannot yet well tell how to think of the other Side of the Water. This only I will assure you, that the first entire Health God is pleas'd to bestow on me, shall be employed in a Journey towards you; there being nothing I so earnestly covet, as the personal Acquaintance of one for whom I have so great a Respect and Veneration, and to whom I am so highly obliged for many Favours.

There is a very worthy Person, Dr. *St. George Ashe*, Provost of the College here, lately gone from hence to *London*; he is a great Admirer,
and

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and zealous Promoter of your Writings in this College. He desired from me a Letter of Recommendation to you, but I fear your being in the Country will hinder his design'd Happiness in your Conversation. He stays in *London* these three or four Months to come; in which Time, if your Business call you to the City, you will hear of him either at your Lodging at Mr. *Pawlin's*, (where perhaps he will leave the Place of his Residence) or at Mr. *Tucker's*, in the Secretary's Office at *Whitehall*, where a Penny-Post Letter will find him out.

I thank you for the Care you have taken to send me the Books and Sculptures; which I hope to receive in good time, having Advice thereof already from Mr. *Churchill*. I am,

Worthy S I R,

Your most affectionate

humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Jan. 15, 1697.

Honour'd S I R,

I Have received the six Copies of your Book, and thank you for the Care you have taken about them. I acknowledge my self likewise obliged to you for your Present of Dr. *Wood's* Almanack, though it was not new to me, having received the Favour of one from the Author himself,

self, when Accomptant-General here in Ireland, many Years ago. 'Tis a very pretty Project, but, I believe, 'twill hardly ever be practis'd; because Men think what they have already sufficiently accurate for the common Uses of Life, and are hardly brought from what they have used, so long as they have done the common *Julian* Account, unless prevail'd upon by some such potent Authority as the *Church*, which abrogated the *Julian*, and established the *Gregorian* Kalendar.

The Sculptures also I received, and thank you for them. I shall do them all the Honour that outward Ornament can give them. And I heartily wish I had more effectual Ways of shewing my Respects, which I think I can never do sufficiently.

I have ever thought that an elegant Translation of your *Essay* into *Latin*, would be highly acceptable to Foreigners, and of great Use in those Countries, whose Minds lie yet captivated in *Verbose*, disputative Philosophy, and false Reasoning: I therefore presume to mention it to you, that though your own Leisure may not permit you to perform it your self, you may think of putting some one on it, that under your Eye may do it correctly. And were I not persuaded that your own Eye and Correction were absolutely requisite herein, I would venture to make a bold Proposal to have it done by some one in this Place, whom I should reward for his Labour herein. And this I do, not that I think you may not with a great deal of Ease employ one your self in this Matter, but merely that herein I may have an Opportunity of doing so much Good in the World. You see, Sir, what a Veneration I have for your Writings, and therefore you will pardon me, if I desire from you, *sub amicitiae tessera*, the Names of what
Books

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Books you have publish'd. I remember once I propos'd to you the like Request, and you were silent to it. If it were that you design'dly conceal them, I acquiesce; but perhaps it proceeded from your cursory passing over that Part of my Letter, which makes me venture again on the same Request. And now that your Thoughts are at liberty from that *Essay*, you will give me leave, with all Submission, to mind you of what you once told me you would think of, *viz.* of demonstrating *Morals*. I am sure, as no Hand could perform it better, so no Age ever requir'd it more than ours.

I do heartily wish you an happy succeeding Year; and may it end with us happier than the last past. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most obliged,

humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 28 March, 1695.

Dear S I R,

YOU will, I fear, think me frozen up with this long Winter, or else with a Negligence colder than that, having two very obliging Letters of yours by me, the one ever since *January*, the other *February* last, I make you no Answer to either, till thus far in *March*. The Truth is, expect-

expecting ever since I received your last Letter, an Account from *London*, concerning something I had a mind to put into my Letter, and after writing four Times about it being yet delayed, I can forbear no longer to return you my Thanks, and to beg your Pardon that I have been so slow in it. If you interpret it right, you will look upon it as the Effect of a Friendship got past Formalities, and that has Confidence enough to make bold with you, where it is without Neglect of you, or Prejudice to either. I was not a little rejoiced with the News you sent me, in the first of your Letters, of your safe Recovery of a Fever. Had I known it, before the Danger was over, that you had been ill, it would have been no small Fright and Pain to me: For I must assure you, that amongst all the Friends your Kindness or Worth has procured you, there is not any one who values you more than I do, or does more interest himself in all your Concerns. This makes me, that though I have a long Time extremely desired to see you, and propose to my self an infinite Satisfaction in a free Conversation with you; yet what you tell me, that you were coming last Summer into *England* to make me a Visit, makes me dread the Satisfaction of my own Wishes. And methinks I ought not to purchase one of the greatest Happineffes I can propose to my self, at so dear and dangerous a Rate. I have received many and great Obligations from you before, but they were such, as though I had no Title to, I thought I might accept from one whom I love, and therefore was glad to find kind to me. But when I reflect on the Length of the Way, and the Sea between us, the Danger of the one, and the Fatigue of both, and your no very robust Constitution, as I imagine, I cannot consent you should venture

venture so much for my Sake. If any Harm should happen to you in the Journey, I could never forgive it my self, to be the Occasion of so great a Loss to the World and my self. And if you should come safe, the Greatness of the Hazard, and an Obligation out of all Proportion to what I either ought to receive, or was capable to return, would overwhelm me with Shame, and hinder my Enjoyment. And yet, if I may confess my secret Thoughts, there is not any Thing, which I would not give, that some other unavoidable Occasion would draw you into *England*. A rational, free-minded Man, tied to nothing but Truth, is so rare a Thing, that I almost worship such a Friend; but when Friendship is join'd to it, and these are brought into a free Conversation, where they meet, and can be together, what is there can have equal Charms? I cannot but exceedingly wish for that happy Day, when I may see a Man I have so often longed to have in my Embraces. But yet, though it would endear the Gift to receive it from his Kindness, I cannot but wish rather that Fortune alone would throw him into my Arms.

This cold Winter has kept me so close a Prisoner within Doors, that, till Yesterday, I have been Abroad but once these three Months, and that only a Mile in a Coach. And the Inability I am in, to breathe *London* Air in cold Weather, has hinder'd me yet from the Happiness of waiting on Dr. *Ashe*; but I hope to get to *London* before he leaves it, that I may, to a Person whom you have an Esteem for, pay some Part of the Respects I owe you. I had last Week the Honour of a Visit from an ingenious Gentleman, a Member of your College at *Dublin*, lately returned from *Turkey*. He told me he was a Kinsman of yours; and though his other good Qualities might have made

made him welcome any where, he was not, you may be sure, the less welcome to me, for being known and related to you. He seems to me to have been very diligent and curious in making Observations whilst he has been Abroad, and more inquisitive than most of our People that go into those Parts: And, by the Discourse I had with him the little Time we were together, I promise my self we shall have a more exact Account of those Parts, in what I hope he intends to publish, than hitherto is extant. Dr. *Huntington*, who was formerly at *Aleppo*, and is my old Acquaintance, and now my Neighbour in this Country, brought Mr. *Smith* hither with him from his House: But yet I must acknowledge the Favour to you, and desire you to thank him for it, when he returns to *Dublin*; for the Friendship he knew you had for me, was, I take it, the great Inducement that made him give himself the Trouble of coming six or seven Miles in a dirty Country.

You do so attack me on every Side with your Kindness to my Book, to me, to my Shadow, that I cannot but be ashamed I am not in a Capacity to make you any other Acknowledgment, but in a very full and deep Sense of it. I return you my Thanks for the Corrections you have sent me, which I will take all the Care of I can in the next Edition, which my Bookseller tells me he thinks will be this Summer: And if any other fall under your Observation, I shall desire the Continuance of your Favour in communicating them.

I must own to you, that I have been solicited from beyond Sea to put my *Essay* into *Latin*; but you guess right, I have not the Leisure to do it. It was once translated by a young Man in *Holland* into *Latin*; but he was so little Master of the *English* or *Latin* Tongue, that when it was shew'd

shew'd me, which he did not till he had quite done it, I satisfied him that it would be very little for his Credit to publish it, and so that was laid by. Since that, my Bookseller was, and had been for some time seeking for a Translator, whom he would have treated with to have undertaken it, and have satisfied for his Pains: But, a little before the Coming of your Letter, he writ me word he had been disappointed, where he expected to have found one who would have done it, and was now at a Loss. So that what you call a bold, is not only the kindest, but the most seasonable Proposal you could have made. You understand my Thoughts as well as I do my self, and can be a fit Judge, whether the Translator has express'd them well in *Latin* or no, and can direct him where to omit or contract any thing, where you think I have been more large than needed. And though in this I know you intend, as you say, some Good to the World; yet I cannot but take it as a very particular Obligation to my self, and shall not be a little satisfied to have my Book go abroad into the World with Strokes of your judicious Hand to it. For, as to omitting, adding, altering, transposing any thing in it, I permit it wholly to your Judgment. And if there be any thing in it defective, or which you think may be added with Advantage to the Design of the whole Work, if you will let me know, I shall endeavour to supply that Defect the best I can. The Chapter of *Identity* and *Diversity*, which owes its Birth wholly to your putting me upon it, will be an Encouragement to you to lay any the like Commands upon me. I have had some Thoughts my self, that it would not be possibly amiss to add, in *lib. iv. cap. 18.* something about *Enthusiasm*, or to make a Chapter of it by it self. If you are

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of the same Mind, and that it will not be foreign to the Business of my *Essay*, I promise you, before the Translator you shall employ shall be got so far, I will send you my Thoughts on that Subject, so that it may be put into the *Latin* Edition. I have also examined *P. Malebranche's* Opinion, concerning *Seeing all Things in God*, and to my own Satisfaction laid open the Vanity, Inconsistency, and Unintelligibleness of that way of explaining Human Understanding. I have gone almost, but not quite through it, and know not whether I now ever shall finish it, being fully satisfied my self about it. You cannot think how often I regret the Distance that is between us; I envy *Dublin* for what I every Day want in *London*. Were you in my Neighbourhood, you would every Day be troubled with the Proposal of some of my Thoughts to you. I find mine generally so much out of the way of the Books I meet with, or Men led by Books, that, were I not conscious to my self that I impartially seek Truth, I should be discouraged from letting my Thoughts loose, which commonly lead me out of the beaten Track. However, I want some body near me, to whom I could freely communicate them, and without Reserve lay them open. I should find Security and Ease in such a Friend as you, were you within Distance; for your Judgment would confirm and set me at rest, where it approved, and your Candor would excuse what your Judgment corrected, and set me right in. As to your Request you now repeat to me, I desire you to believe that there is nothing in your Letters which I pass over slightly, or without taking notice of; and if I formerly said nothing to it, think it to be, that I thought it the best way of answering a Friend, whom I was resolved to deny nothing that was in my

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Power.

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Power. There are some particular Obligations that tie me up in the Point, and which have drawn on me some Displeasure for a Time from some of my Friends, who made me a somewhat like Demand. But I expect to find you more reasonable, and give you this Assurance, that you shall be the first that shall be satisfied in that Point. I am not forgetful of what you so kindly put me upon: I think no body ought to live only to eat and drink, and count the Days he spends idly. The small Remainder of a crazy Life I shall, as much as my Health will permit, apply to the Search of Truth, and shall not neglect to propose to my self those that may be most useful. My Paper is more than done, and, I suppose, you tired; and yet I can scarce give off. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most faithful

humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, March 26, 1695.

S I R,

THE Concern you express for my Welfare is extremely obliging; and I never prized my Health so much, as since thereby I am enabled to enjoy your Correspondence and Friendship. But, whatever becomes of me and my Carcass, I can heartily wish you had one more easy, healthful and strong: For I know Mankind in general

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is interested in you ; whereas I am sure to fall unlamented to all, save a few particular Friends.

I understand my Kinsman has enjoy'd that which I have earnestly long'd for. He tells me, by Letter, the great Obligations he bears you, for the Civilities you shew'd him, and desires me to acknowledge them.

I am very glad to find your *Essay* like to suffer a third Impression ; 'tis a good Sign, and shews the World not so averse to Truth, when fairly laid open. To have Truth prevail, the only Way is calmly and meekly to publish it, and let it shift for it self ; *Magna res est Veritas, & prævalebit* : 'Twill make its own Party good without Fire and Faggot, which never promoted, but I am sure has often stifled it.

This encourages me with more Vigour to promote the Translation of your Work, and to own my self infinitely oblig'd to you, that you are pleas'd so readily to comply with the Offer I made you in my last. Yesterday I sent for an ingenious young Man of the College here, to discourse with him about it. The Result was, he would make an Essay, and shew it me, and accordingly would proceed or desist. But then he tells me that he cannot set himself fully to it till towards the latter End of *May*, for he designs to stand Candidate for a Fellowship in the College, which, by the Removal of the Provost, is to be disposed of about next *Trinity-Sunday* ; and, in the mean Time, he is to prepare himself for the Examination they undergo on that Occasion. I shall see his first Attempt the next Week, and shall give you an Account. As to any Alterations to be made by me, I should be very cautious of meddling therein ; I know the whole Work has already undergone so exact a Judgment, that there is no room left

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for Amendments. However, if any such offer, after your Approbation of them, I should venture to insert them.

I must freely confess, that if my Notion of *Enthusiasm* agrees with yours, there is no Necessity of adding any Thing concerning it, more than by the bye, and in a single Section in *chap. 18. lib. 4.* I conceive it to be no other than a religious Sort of Madness, and comprises not in it any Mode of Thinking, or Operation of the Mind, different from what you have treated of in your *Essay*. 'Tis true indeed, the Absurdities Men embrace, on account of Religion, are most astonishing; and if in a Chapter of *Enthusiasm* you endeavour to give an Account of them, it would be very acceptable. So that (on second Thoughts) I do very well approve of what you propose therein, being very desirous of having your Sentiments on any Subject.

Pere Malebranche's Chapter of *Seeing all Things in God*, was ever to me absolutely unintelligible; and unless you think a polemick Discourse in your *Essay* (which you have hitherto avoided therein) may not be of a piece with the rest, I am sure it highly deserves to be exposed, and is very agreeable to the Business of your Work. I would therefore humbly propose it to you, to consider of doing something therein. *Pere Malebranche* has many curious Notions, and some as erroneous and absurd. 'Tis a good while since I read him, but I am now turning him over a second Time: He is mostly Platonick, and in some Things almost Enthusiastical. I am,

Honour'd dear S I R,

Your most obliged, humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, April 26, 1695.

S I R,

YOU look with the Eyes, and speak the Language of Friendship, when you make my Life of much more Concern to the World than your own. I take it, as it is, for an Effect of your Kindness, and so shall not accuse you of Compliment; the Mistakes and Over-valuings of Good-will being always sincere, even when they exceed what common Truth allows. This on my side I must beg you to believe, that my Life would be much more pleasant and useful to me if you were within my Reach, that I might sometimes enjoy your Conversation, and, upon twenty Occasions, lay my Thoughts before you, and have the Advantage of your Judgment. I cannot complain that I have not my Share of Friends of all Ranks, and such, whose Interest, Assistance, Affection, and Opinions too, in fit Cases, I can rely on. But methinks, for all this, there is one Place vacant, that I know no body that would so well fill as your self: I want one near me to talk freely with, *De quolibet Ente*; to propose to, the Extravagances that rise in my Mind; one with whom I would debate several Doubts and Questions, to see what was in them. Meditating by one's self is like digging in the Mine; it often, perhaps, brings up maiden Earth, which never came near the Light before; but whether it contain any Metal in it, is never so well tried as in Conversation with a knowing judicious Friend, who carries about him the true Touch-stone, which is Love of Truth in a clear-thinking Head.

Men of Parts and Judgment the World usually gets hold of, and by a great Mistake (that their Abilities of Mind are lost, if not employ'd in the Pursuit of Wealth or Power) engages them in the Ways of Fortune and Interest, which usually leave but little Freedom or Leisure of Thought for pure disinterested Truth. And such who give themselves up frankly, and in earnest, to the full Latitude of real Knowledge, are not every where to be met with. Wonder not, therefore, that I wish so much for you in my Neighbourhood; I should be too happy in a Friend of your Make, were you within my Reach. But yet I cannot but wish that some Business would once bring you within Distance; and 'tis a Pain to me to think of leaving the World, without the Happiness of seeing you.

I do not wonder that a Kinsman of yours should magnify Civilities that scarce deserve that Name; I know not wherein they consisted, but in being glad to see One that was any way related to you, and was himself a very ingenious Man; either of those was a Title to more than I did, or could shew him. I am sorry I have not yet had an Opportunity to wait on him in *London*, and I fear he should be gone before I am able to get thither. This long Winter, and cold Spring, has hung very heavy upon my Lungs, and they are not yet in a Case to be ventur'd in *London*-Air, which must be my Excuse for not waiting upon him and Dr. *Ashe* yet.

The third Edition of my *Essay* is already, or will be speedily in the Press. But what perhaps will seem stranger, and possibly please you better, an Abridgment is now making (if it be not already done) by one of the University of *Oxford*, for the Use of young Scholars, in the Place of an ordi-

ordinary System of Logick. From the Acquaintance I had of the Temper of that Place, I did not expect to have it get much Footing there. But so it is, I some time since received a very civil Letter from one, wholly a Stranger to me there, concerning such a Design; and, by another from him since, I conclude it near done. He seems to be an ingenious Man, and he writes sensibly about it, but I can say nothing of it till I see it; and he, of his own Accord, has offer'd that it shall wholly be submitted to my Opinion, and Disposal of it. And thus, Sir, possibly, that which you once propos'd may be attained to; and I was pleas'd with the Gentleman's Design for your Sake.

You are a strange Man; you oblige me very much by the Care you take to have it well translated, and you thank me for complying with your Offer. In my last, as I remember, I told you the Reason why it was so long before I writ, was in Expectation of an Answer from *London*, concerning something I had to communicate to you: It was in short this, I was willing to know what my Bookseller would give for a good *Latin* Copy; he told me, at last, twenty Pounds. His Delay was, because he would first have known what the Translator demanded. But I forced him to make his Proposal, and so I send it you, to make what Use of it you please. He since writ me word, that a Friend of his at *Oxford* would, in some Time, be at leisure to do it, and would undertake it. I bid him excuse himself to him, for that it was in Hands I approv'd of, and some Part of it now actually done: For I hope the Essay (he was to shew you the next Week after you writ to me last) pleas'd you. Think it not a Compliment, that I desire you to

make what Alterations you think fit. One Thing particularly you will oblige me and the World in, and that is, in paring off some of the superfluous Repetitions, which I left in for the sake of illiterate Men, and the softer Sex, not used to abstract Notions and Reasonings. But much of this Reasoning will be out of Doors in a *Latin* Translation. I refer all to your Judgment, and so am secure it will be done as is best.

What I shall add concerning *Enthusiasm*, I guess will very much agree with your Thoughts, since yours jump so right with mine about the Place where it is to come in, I having design'd it for *chap. 18. lib. iv.* as a false Principle of Reasoning often made use of. But, to give an historical Account of the various Ravings Men have embraced for Religion, would, I fear, be besides my Purpose, and be enough to make an huge Volume.

My Opinion of *P. Malebranche* agrees perfectly with yours. What I have writ concerning *Seeing all Things in God*, would make a little Treatise of it self: But I have not quite gone through it, for fear I should by some body or other be tempted to print it; for I love not Controversies, and have a personal Kindness for the Author. When I have the Happiness to see you, we will consider it together, and you shall dispose of it.

I think I shall make some other Additions to be put into your *Latin* Translation, and particularly concerning the *Connection of Ideas*, which has not, that I know, been hitherto consider'd, and has, I guess, a greater Influence upon our Minds than is usually taken notice of. Thus, you see, I make you the Confident of my Reveries; you would be
troubled

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troubled with a great many more of them, were you nearer. I am,

Honour'd S I R,

Your most affectionate

Humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, May 7, 1695.

S I R,

I AM extremely pleased to understand by yours of April 26, that we are to expect an Abridgment of your Work from a judicious Hand in Oxford; 'tis what I always thought might be of good Use in the Universities, where we yet want another sort of Language than what has hitherto prevailed there, to the great Hindrance of Science.

As to the Translation that is going on here, 'tis undertaken by one Mr. William Mullart, a senior Batchelor in the College. He has the Repute of an ingenious and learned young Man, and I hope he may perform it well. I here inclose a Specimen of his Performance, concerning which I desire you would give me your Thoughts, before he proceed much farther. This only may be hinted, that when he is better acquainted with the Work, and your Language, and has enter'd farther into it, 'tis probable his Translation may be better, more easy and natural. He proposes to finish it in half a Year, or nine Months at farthest; for he cannot wholly disengage himself from

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from some other Studies. I perceive your Book-feller is resolved to share with me in the Good I thought to do the World, by bestowing on it this Translation. And since he is so generous as to have it so, I will by no means be the Translator's Hindrance in partaking of the Bookfeller's Proffer; and, at the same Time, to engage his Diligence the more, I will increase the Reward considerably, that I may not wholly miss of the good Design I first proposed to my self. If you encourage the Translator to go forward, you may be pleased to transmit to me the Additions you design; as that of *Entbusiasm, Connection of Ideas*, and what else you have.

And now, with redoubled Force, I send back to you the Complaints you make for our Distance. I cannot but hope, that Providence has yet in store for me so much Happiness on this side the Grave; and if it have not, I shall think I have missed the greatest temporal Good my Mind was ever set on. But I still say, I live in Hopes; the Accomplishment whereof would be the greatest Satisfaction to

Your most cordially affectionate

bumble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Were it not too nigh approaching to Vanity, I could tell you of the extraordinary Effects your Method of *Education* has had on my little Boy,

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 2 July, 1695.

Dear S I R,

DID I not assure my self that our Friendship were grown beyond Suspicion of Compliment, I should think I should have need to make Excuses to you for my long Silence; but I know you will credit me, when I tell you it has been neither Forgetfulness nor Negligence. The Specimen of the Translation you sent me, gave me some Reason to apprehend, that Mr. *Mullart's* Stile would lay too great a Burden on your Kindness, by often needing the Correction of your Hand, to make it express my Sense with that Clearness and Easiness, which I know you desire. My Bookseller therefore having before told me of one who had offer'd to undertake the Translation of my *Essay*, I have been ever since endeavouring to get from him a Specimen, that I might send it you, and have your Opinion, which is like to do best; that so if this Man had a Talent that way, you might be eased of the Trouble, which your Friendship to me, and Zeal to the Work, I foresee, is likely to lay upon you. But, having the last Post received this Account from Mr. *Churchill*, that the Gentleman proposed is in the Country, and must have a Book sent him down, on purpose, before we can expect to see any Thing from him, and this being all to be managed by a third Hand, who is not every Day to be met with; I have resolved to lose no more Time on that Thought, but accepting of your kind Offer, put that whole Matter into your Hands, to be ordered as you shall think best, and shall spend no more Time in other Enquiries, since the Gentleman you propose will (as

I remember you told me) be about this Time at Leisure to set himself in earnest to it. There is one Thing I would offer, which may be of Advantage to him and the Work too, and that is, that he would constantly and sedulously read *Tully*, especially his Philosophical Works, which will insensibly work him into a good *Latin* Stile. I have heard it reported of Bishop *Sanderfon*, that being asked how he came to write *Latin* so well, as appears in the Treatises he published in that Tongue? He answer'd, *By ordering his Studies so, that he read over all Tully's Works every Year.* I leave it to you, whether you will think fit to mention this to Mr. *Mullart*.

The Abridgment of my *Essay* is quite finish'd. It is done by a very ingenious Man of *Oxford*, a Master of Arts, very considerable for his Learning and Virtue, who has a great many Pupils. It is done with the same Design you had in View when you mention'd it. He has generally (as far as I could remember) made Use of my Words; he very civilly sent it me when it was done, and, upon looking it over, I guess you will approve of it, and think it well done. It is in Mr. *Churchill's* Hands, and will be printed as soon as the third Edition of my *Essay*, which is now in the Press, is printed off.

I am extremely glad to hear that you have found any good Effects of my Method on your Son. I should be glad to know the Particulars; for though I have seen the Success of it in a Child of the Lady, in whose House I am (whose Mother has taught him *Latin* without knowing it her self when she began) yet I would be glad to have other Instances; because some Men, who cannot endure any Thing should be mended in the World by a new Method, object, I hear, that my

my Way of Education is impracticable. But this I can assure you, that the Child above-mention'd, but nine Years old in *June* last, has learn'd to read and write very well; is now reading *Quintus Curtius* with his Mother; understands Geography and Chronology very well, and the *Copernican* System of our Vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little; and all this without ever having one Blow for his Book. The third Edition is now out; I have order'd Mr. *Churchill* to send you one of them, which I hope he has done before this. I expect your Opinion of the Additions, which have much encreased the Bulk of the Book. And though I think all that I have said right; yet you are the Man I depend on for a fair and free Censure, not inclined either to flatter, or quarrel. You know not of what Value a knowing Man, that is a sincere Lover of Truth, is, nor how hard to be found; wonder not therefore, if I place a great Part of my Happiness in your Friendship, and wish every Day you were my Neighbour; you would then find what Use I should make of it. But, not to complain of what cannot be remedied, pray let me have all the Advantage I can at this Distance. Read the Additions, and examine them strictly, for I would not willingly mislead the World. Pray let me know whether the Doctor, your Brother, has any Children; when he has, I count I owe him one of my Books of *Education*.

With my Treatise of *Education*, I believe you will receive another little one concerning *Interest* and *Coinage*. It is one of the fatherless Children which the World lay at my Door; but, whoever be the Author, I shall be glad to know your Opinion of it.

And

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And now I must mightily bemoan the Loss of an Happiness which you design'd me, and I through great Misfortune missed. The Impressions of the last severe Winter on my weak Lungs, and the slow Return of warm Weather this Spring, confined me so long to the Country, that I concluded Dr. *Ashe* would be gone before I should get to Town, and I should lose the Honour of so desired an Acquaintance. However, as soon as I was got to *London*, I enquir'd of Mr. *Churchill*, who told me Dr. *Ashe* was lately in Town, and he promised me, as I desired him, that he would enquire whether he was still there, and where he lodged. He returned me no Answer, and I (through a Multitude of Business) forgot to enquire again, for some few Days. Upon the first Thought of it again, I went to the Secretary's Office at *Whitehall*, and not finding Mr. *Tucker* there, I went to his House, who told me that Dr. *Ashe* was that very Morning gone out of Town. The missing of him thus unluckily, when he had been within my Reach, very much vexed me, and it look'd as if Fortune had a Mind sensibly to cross me, in what she knew I was extremely desirous of. I enquired too for Mr. *Smith*, but he, I heard, was gone to *Flanders* before I came to Town. It would have been more than ordinary Satisfaction to me, to have convers'd and made an Acquaintance with so esteem'd a Friend of yours as Dr. *Ashe*. I shall not be at quiet, till some Business brings you into *England* to repair this Loss, and brings me a Satisfaction to the most earnest of all my Desires. My decaying Health does not promise me any long Stay in this World; you are the only Person in it that I desire to see once, and to converse some Time with, before I leave it. I wish your other Occasions might

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might draw you into *England*, and then let me alone to husband our Time together ; I have laid all that in my Head already. But I talk my Desires and Fancies as if they were in View. I wish you all manner of Happiness, and am,

Dear S I R,

Your most affectionate,

and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Pray present my humble Service to Dr. *Ashe*, and excuse my misfortunate Loss to him.

When you consider the Length of this, you will find my late Silence was not from a Sparingsness of Speech, or a Backwardness to talk with you ; I have more Reason now to beg your Pardon for my Talkativeness than Silence.

The Additions I intend to make, shall be sent time enough for the Translator.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, August 24, 1695.

S I R,

I Defer'd my Answer all this while to yours of *July 2.* (which I received some Weeks ago) in Expectation of the Books you have been pleas'd to order for me ; but hitherto they are not arriv'd, and I would not omit my Duty any longer, lest the Business of our ensuing Parliament should give me a farther Hindrance. The University has done me the Honour to chuse me as one of their
Repre-

Representatives; and though I cannot pretend to do them any great Service; yet it shall not be for want of constant Attendance on their Business, which will take up most of my Time, till the Session is ended.

I am now at a great Loss what Apology to make you, for the Disappointment you are at last like to receive in the Translation of your *Essay*. But, to a candid and ingenuous Man, the best Excuse is a plain Narrative of the Matter of Fact.

The Gentleman, whom I formerly mentioned to you, Mr. *Mullart*, went into the Country about the middle of last *June*, and return'd about a Fortnight ago. When he went away, he assur'd me, he would make a considerable Progress in the Work, in a Month or six Weeks Time; but he was taken ill for about a Fortnight, and, at his Return, I found he had scarce done four Pages of the Book. I found also (as you rightly surmise) that his Style will hardly answer Expectation; but this Difficulty, I thought, might be overcome by Time and Application. But what to say to his very slow Performance I cannot tell, or whether it may answer your, or your Bookseller's Designs. But that which most of all discourages me, is, that the young Man himself seems not very fond of the Undertaking, but has fix'd his Thoughts on another Pursuit. I formerly told you how he designed for a Fellowship, had any at that Time happen'd vacant, as there did none. But very lately there are two Fellowships become void, and a third like to be so, before the Time of sitting for them, which is next *June*, 1696. and he tells me plainly, he must endeavour to get one of them; and that there will be at least five Competitors, if not six, who are all his Seniors; and

and therefore, he must use his utmost Diligence, Application and Study in the intermediate Time, to fit himself for the Examination they undergo; and this, he says, will take up so much of his Time, that he knows not whether he shall have any to spare for the Translation.

I cannot well tell which Way next to turn my self in this Affair. I have but one Anchor more, and that is not at hand immediately to use. There is a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, the greatest Master of Stile of any I have known, who, I am confident, would perform this Work to your utmost Satisfaction; but he is not, at present, in Town, and when he comes (which I expect, may be about *Michaelmas* next, as I have it from himself) I make some Doubt, whether his other Avocations will permit him to undertake this. He is Chancellor of the Diocese of *Down and Connor*, and has also a private Work of his own, in *Latin*, now fitting for the Press, which he permits to run through my Hands, as he goes on with it. When he comes to Town, I will move him in it, if you will give leave, and you shall know the Event.

I am mightily pleased that your *Essay* is abridg'd, though for my own reading, I would not part with a Syllable of it. However, others may not have so much Leisure as to set on a large Book, and for such the Abridgment may be useful. 'Tis to me no small Argument of the curious Genius of the *English* Nation, that a Work so abstract as yours, should now suffer three Impressions in so short a Time.

I have already so much Experience of your Method of *Education*, that I long to see your third Edition. And since you put me upon it (to whom I can refuse nothing in my Power) I will

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give you a short Account of my little Boy's Progress under it.

He was six Years old about the middle of last *July*. When he was but just turn'd five, he could read perfectly well; and on the Globes could have traced out, and pointed at all the noted Parts, Countries, and Cities of the World, both Land and Sea: And by five and an half, could perform many of the plainest Problems on the Globe; as the Longitude and Latitude, the Antipodes, the Time with them and other Countries, &c. and this by way of Play and Diversion, seldom call'd to it, never chid or beaten for it. About the same Age he could read any Number of Figures, not exceeding six Places, break it as you please by Cyphers or Zero's. By the Time he was six, he could manage a Compass, Ruler and Pencil, very prettily, and perform many little Geometrical Tricks, and advanced to Writing and Arithmetick; and has been about three Months at *Latin*, wherein his Tutor observes, as nigh as he can, the Method prescrib'd by you. He can read a *Gazettee*, and, in the large Maps of *Sanfon*, shews most of the remarkable Places as he goes along, and turns to the proper Maps. He has been shewn some Dogs dissected, and can give some little Account of the grand Traces of Anatomy. And as to the Formation of his Mind, which you rightly observe to be the most valuable Part of Education; I do not believe that any Child had ever his Passions more perfectly at Command. He is obedient and observant to the nicest Particular, and at the same Time sprightly, playful, and active.

But I will say no more, this may be tiresome to others, however pleasing to my self.

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I have some Thoughts of seeing *England* next Spring, or Summer, but the Time I cannot prefix as yet, till I see how our Affairs are like to go in Parliament, and whether we are like to have another Session, and when. T'other Day I chanced to mention your Name accidentally to his Excellency my Lord *Capel*, who thereupon expressed himself with the utmost Respect and Esteem for you. I am,

Honour'd S I R,

Your most affectionate

humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, 16 Nov. 1695.

S I R,

THough there be no Man in the World that I so much long to see as you; yet your last Letter, of the second Instant, makes me afraid of your Coming. Your Kindness and Expression in my Favour, has painted me so in your Fancy, that I shall unavoidably fall many Degrees in your Esteem, when you find me come so much short of what you expected; *Paratus est mihi magnus adversarius Expectatio*, as I remember, *Tully* somewhere says. One Thing only I have to satisfy my self, viz. That, whatever I may want of those Qualities you ascribe to me, I have one that helps mightily to cover Defects, and make

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one acceptable, without the Recommendation of great Perfections, I mean Friendship, true and sincere. This I can boast of to you, this I can bid you expect, and tell you, you shall not be deceived. Come then, but come with this Resolution, that you will be content; that shall make up to you all those fine Things which you imagine before-hand, in a Man whom you will really find a plain, honest, well-meaning Man, who unbiassedly seeks Truth, though it be but a very small Part of it he has yet discover'd.

I am very glad you approve of the Additions to the third Edition of my *Education*: You are a Father, and are concerned not to be deceived, and therefore I expect you will not flatter me in this Point. You speak so well of that you have, that I shall take Care to have another of those Treatises of *Interest* and *Coinage* sent to you. The Affair of our Money, which is in a lamentable State, is now under Debate here, what the Issue will be, I know not; I pray for a good One. I find every Body almost looks on it as a Mystery; to me there appears to be none at all in it. 'Tis but stripping it of the Cant which all Men that talk of it involve it in, and there is nothing easier: Lay by the arbitrary Names of Pence and Shillings, and consider and speak of it as Grains and Ounces of Silver, and 'tis as easy as telling of twenty.

I had a great deal more to say to you in Answer to this, and two other obliging Letters I am indebted to you for: But I am sent for into the Country by an Express. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and most affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 20 Nov. 1695.

S I R,

BEfore I left *London*, I gave Order that the Book you desired about *Interest* and *Money*, should be sent you by the first Opportunity. But it is to you I send it, and not to any Body else; you may give it to whom you please, for 'tis yours as soon as you receive it; but pray do not give it to any Body in my Name, or as a Present from me. And however you are pleased to make me a Compliment, in making me the Author of a Book you think well of; yet you may be sure I do not own it to be mine, till you see my Name to it.

You, I see, are troubled there about your Money, as well as we are here; though, I hope, you are not so deep in that Disease as we are. A little before his Majesty's Return, the Lords Justices here had this Matter under Consideration, and, amongst others, were pleased to send to me for my Thoughts about it. This is too publickly known here to make the mentioning of it to you appear Vanity in me. The Paper I here inclose would seem a strange Thing, did I not tell you the Occasion of my writing it. And, since some of my Friends here persuade me it gives some Light to that, which the States-man you mention, thinks so profound a Mystery, I have taken the Liberty to send it you, either to open that Matter a little farther to you, or that you may shew me the Mistakes and Defects of it. But pray, whatever Use you make of it, conceal my Name.

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I writ to you from *London*, just as I was leaving the Town in haste, in Answer to yours of the second Instant. You must pardon the Faults of that to the Hurry and Disturbance I was then in. I am not much more at Leisure, or at Quiet now; but Shame will not suffer me to be silent any longer, under the Obligation of two other Letters I have by me of yours unanswered.

I cannot read yours of the 24th of *August* last, without finding new Marks of your Kindness to me, in the Concern you therein express to get a good Hand for the translating my *Essay*. I think, at last, you have got a better than I could have expected. I design'd to have brought Mr. *Churchill* and him together, and settled that Matter before I left *London*; but I was so unexpectedly called thence, that I left that and several other Businesses undone. But I took order with Mr. *Churchill*, my Bookseller, to go to him; he is a reasonable Man, and, I doubt not, but it will be taken care of, as well as if I were there. I think the Abridgment is near, if not quite printed; but I had not the Time or Memory to enquire, after my hasty Summons into the Country. I was told too, when I was in Town, that some Body is printing against it; if it be a fair Enquirer I shall be glad, if a wrangling Disputant, I shall not mind him.

Mr. *Burridge* is the Man you speak him to be, in yours of *September* 19. Had I stay'd in *London*, I think I should have been able to have procured him some Particulars would have been of Use to him in his Design. Some of them I have taken Care he should receive, notwithstanding my Absence. But perhaps they might have been more, could I have stay'd till more of my Acquaintance were come to Town. I am now in an
House

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House of Sorrow and Business, which hinders me from that Freedom I would be in when I write to you. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate,

humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, December 24, 1695.

S I R,

I Am ashamed to say, that I have two of yours before me unanswer'd.

Yours of *Nov. 20.* brought me a Paper, which, of all Things I have ever seen on that Subject, I most highly admire. You have therein revealed the whole Mystery of Money, Exchange, Trade, &c. which have hitherto been wrap'd up in unintelligible Cant, I believe, partly out of Knavery, partly out of Ignorance. You gave me Liberty to make what Use of it I pleas'd, and therefore I ventur'd to give a Copy of it to his Excellency my Lord Deputy *Capel*, rather than the Book of *Interest* and *Coinage*, which I thought might be too long for his present Perusal in his multitude of Business. But I can tell you, that your admirable Perspicuity of Writing is so clearly different from all the World, and almost peculiar to your self, that in vain you expect to be conceal'd in any Thing that comes from you. For, I assure you, in some Discourse I had with

his Excellency, no longer ago than Yesterday, concerning the Business of Money; he asked me (without any Occasion given him from me) whether I had ever seen Mr. *Locke's* Book of *Interest, &c.* for he has formerly known (as I think I have told you) that I had the Happiness of your Acquaintance; I reply'd to his Lordship, That I had seen such a Book, but that it did not bear your Name in it: He answer'd me; The Printer presented it to him as yours; and besides (says he) all the World knows Mr. *Locke's* Way of Writing; and, if I may guess, I believe the Paper you gave me a few Days ago, came from Mr. *Lacke*; pray, did it not? I told his Excellency I was under some Obligation to conceal the Author. That's enough (says he) I am sure 'tis his, and will put his Name to it, and lay it up among my choicest Papers.

I have lately received three small Prints from *London*, concerning the Subject of Money. They were inclosed in a blank Wrapper, and frank'd to me by Sir *Walter Younge*, Bart. a Gentleman whom I never saw, and have no manner of Acquaintance with. I wonder how he comes to confer an Obligation on me so suitable and agreeable to my present Thoughts. If you have any Hand in this Favour to me, be pleas'd to accept of my Thanks, and to express the same to Sir *Walter*. The Titles of those Papers are,

Sir W. Petty's Quantulumcunque concerning Money.

A Letter from an English Merchant at Amsterdam, to his Friend at London, concerning the Trade and Coin of England.

Some Questions answer'd, relating to the Badness of the now Silver Coin of England.

I hear Mr. *Lowndes* of the Treasury has publish'd something on that Subject, and that Mr. *Flamsted* has answer'd him, in a Tract he calls *Five not Six*.

I wish I could see them both, and shall beg the Favour of you, if this Letter finds you at *London*, to get them beaten pretty close, wrap'd up in Folds, and directed to me, unless they be much too bulky for the Post. You need not have them frank'd, for our Letters come to us so, as we are of the Parliament here.

I herewith send you inclosed the Copy of a Letter from an ingenious Man, on the Problem which you have honour'd with a Place in *pag. 67.* of your *Essay*. You will find thereby, that what I say of its puzzling some ingenious Men, is true; and you will easily discover by what false Steps this Gentleman is led into his Error. The Letter was communicated to me by the Party to whom it was writ, Dr. *Quayl*. And the Writer of the Letter, Mr. *Edw. Synge*, is the Author of a little Book call'd the *Gentleman's Religion*, which is vended as yours. The Gentleman is on a second Part, which he will shew me before he sends it to the Press. But this only between ourselves, and the Bookseller, who has been lately informed of thus much already. For tho' the Book shews not that Freedom of Thought as you or I, perhaps, may expect; yet it shews enough to incense his own Herd against him, for there is little of *Mystery* or *Enthusiastick* in it, and yet the Author is a Clergy-man. And you know that, in a Writer on a religious Subject, 'tis an high Offence, even to be silent on those abstruse Points. The Clergy are not dissatisfied only with those that plainly *oppose* them, but are enraged also, even at those that omit zealously to *advance* them;

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them; as we have had a late Instance in him that writes against the *Reasonableness of Christianity*.

I should be mighty glad to hear that Mr. *Burridge* had set upon translating your *Essay*: I believe he will do it well.

I shall also be very much obliged by any Information you give me, of whatsoever is done, or doing by your self, or others, relating to your Works, of which there is none a more devoted Admirer than the excellent Author's

Most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. SYNGE to Dr. QUAYL.

Corke, Septemb. 6, 1695.

Dear S I R,

MR. *Molyneux's* ingenious Question, of which you gave me an Account at Mr. *Lukey's* Yesterday, has run so much in my Mind ever since, that I could scarce drive it out of my Thoughts. To be reveng'd on you therefore for putting my Brains into such a Ferment, I have resolv'd to be so impertinent as to send you the Result of my Meditations upon the Subject.

The Case is this: A Man born perfectly blind, has a Globe and a Cube given into his Hands, and instructed, as much as he is capable of, in the Notion of each of these Figures, and the Difference between them. Let us now suppose this Man suddenly to be endowed with the Sense of

See-

Seeing, and the Question is, whether, the Globe and the Cube being placed before his Eyes, he would be able, by his Sight alone, and without touching them, to tell which was the Globe, and which the Cube?

For the better understanding of what I shall say on this Question, I desire you to take notice, that I call every Notion of any thing which a Man entertains, an *Idea*; but that Notion only, which a Man entertains of a visible Thing, as it is visible, I call an *Image*.

This being premised, I lay down these Propositions.

1. A Man born Blind may have a true (tho' perhaps not a perfect) *Idea* of a Globe and of a Cube, and of some Difference which is between them.

This evidently appears, because he will certainly be able by his Touch to distinguish them one from the other.

2. A Man who has ever been perfectly Blind, and whilst he so remains, can have no *Image* in his Mind, either of a Cube or Globe.

This, in my Opinion, is very evident, because there is no Passage but the Organs of Sight (of which we suppose him to be deprived) for such an *Image* to enter; and I take it for granted, that such *Images* are not innate in Mens Apprehensions.

3. Such a Man, as soon as he is endowed with the Sense of Seeing, will immediately have a different *Image* in his Mind, of a Globe and of a Cube, as soon as they are exposed to his Sight.

This must needs be so, if his Sight, and the Organs thereof, be such as ours; which we suppose.

4. And if immediately, upon the Sight of the Globe and Cube, there be Grounds enough for such a Person clearly to perceive the Agreement, and the Difference between his pre-conceived *Ideas*, and newly conceived *Images* of those Figures, then may he be able to know which is the Globe, and which the Cube, without touching them again after he has seen them.

For the Agreement which he may find between his *Idea* and his *Image* of a Globe, and the Difference of the *Idea* of a Globe from the *Image* of a Cube (*& sic vice versâ*) will be a sufficient Direction to him: (If, I say, there be sufficient Ground immediately to perceive the said Agreement and Difference.)

5. The *Idea* which such a blind Man must needs by his Touch alone form of a Globe, will be this, that it is a Body which is exactly alike on all Sides.

For let him rowl it as often as he will between his Hands, and he can find no manner of Difference between the one Side and the other.

6. Part of the *Idea* which such a Man must needs, by his Touch, conceive of a Cube, will be, that it is a Body which is not alike in every Part of its Superficies.

For in one Part he feels a smooth Flat, in another the sharp Point of an Angle, and in a third a long Ridge, which reaches from one Angle to another.

7. The *Image*, which at the first Sight such a Man will form of a Globe, must needs represent it as a Body which is alike on all Sides, which consequently must be agreeable to the *Idea* which he before had of it, and different from that *Idea* which he had of a Cube.

For turn a Globe ten thousand ways, and it still carries the same Aspect, if it be all of the same Colour, which we now suppose.

8. The *Image*, which upon the first View such a Man will frame of a Cube, must needs be this, that it is a Body which is not alike in all the Parts of its Superficies; which consequently must be agreeable to the *Idea* which before he had of it, and different from that *Idea* which he had of a Globe.

For a Cube does not carry the same Aspect when it is exposed to our Sight in different Positions.

Since then the *Image*, which such a Man would have of a Globe, would be agreeable to the *Idea* which before he had conceiv'd of it, and different from that *Idea* which before he had entertain'd of a Cube (*& sic vice versâ*) it follows, that by his Sight alone he might be able to know which was the Globe, and which the Cube.

I have no more, but to wish you a good Journey, and tell you, that if you call me impertinent for sending you my Thoughts upon such a Speculation, I will retort, and tell that it was your self who put the Question to

Your most affectionate Friend,

and faithful Servant,

EDW. SYNGE.



Mr.

*Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.**Dublin, March 14, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.*

S I R,

AS nothing is more pleasing to me than a Letter from you, so my Concern is not little, when in so long a Time I have wanted that Satisfaction; and more especially so, when I have reason to fear it may proceed from your Indisposition in Health. The last Letter I had from Mr. Churchill, intimated to me that you were not well, and I have not yet received any Account to the contrary; so that my Fears daily increase upon me, and I shall be very uneasy till I receive the glad Tidings of your Recovery and Safety.

Mr. Lowndes's Book about our Coin, and yours against him (which I understand you have sent me, and for which I most heartily thank you) are not yet arrived; when they come, you shall hear farther from me concerning them.

I have lately received a Letter from Mr. Burridge, who is gone down to his Cure in the Country: He takes all Opportunities of thanking you for the civil Reception you gave him; and, as it was upon my Recommendation, I must also thank you for my Share in the Favour. He tells me he has read over your *Essay* carefully, and has just set upon the Translation thereof; but he has not yet sent me any Specimen thereof; when he does, you shall receive it forthwith from me. I doubt not but he will perform it to your Satisfaction; there is not a Man in *Ireland* but himself, for whom I dare promise so boldly in this Matter. One Thing he intimates to me, which I must needs mention to you, as being so agreeable to the

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Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. III

the Apprehensions I have always had of the excellent Author of the *Essay*, to whom I have sometimes presumed to propose it, viz. That he would write a *Book of Offices*, or *moral Philosophy*. I give you Mr. Burridge's own Words, who goes on, *The fine Strokes which he has frequently in his Essay, made me think he would perform it admirably. I wish you would try his Inclinations; you may assure him, I will chearfully undertake the Translation of it afterwards.*

Thus you see, Sir, how you are attack'd on all Sides; I doubt not but you have as frequent Solicitations from your Friends in *England*. I will at this Time add nothing more to the troublesome Importunity. Only, on this Occasion, I will venture to tell you, that I have a Design on Mr. Burridge, to get him, by Degrees, to translate all the Books you have written, and will give leave for. I am,

Honour'd S I R,

Your most affectionate

bumble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Oates, 30 March, 1696.

S I R,

THOUGH I have been very ill this Winter, not without some Apprehensions of my Life; yet I am asham'd that either that, or Business, that has took up more of my Time than my

my Health could well allow, should keep me so long silent to a Man so kindly concern'd to hear from me. 'Twas more than once that I resolv'd on the next Post, but still something or other came between; and I more readily yielded to Delays, in hopes to hear something from you concerning my Answer to Mr. *Lowndes*. If this be a Fault in me, it is such an one that I am guilty of to no body but my Friends. Perhaps the running from Ceremony or Punctuality towards those whom I look on as my sure Friends, that is, my self, may sometimes carry me a little too far to the other Side. But if you disapprove of it, I shall only say it is an ill Effect of a very good Cause; and beg you to believe that I shall never be tardy in writing, speaking, or doing, whenever I shall think it may be of any Moment to the least Interest of yours.

The Business of our Money has so near brought us to Ruin, that, till the Plot broke out, it was every body's Talk, every body's Uneasiness. And because I had play'd the Fool to print about it, there was scarce a Post wherein some body or other did not give me fresh Trouble about it. But now the Parliament has reduced Guineas to two and twenty Shillings a-piece, after the 10th Instant, and prohibited the Receipt of clipt Money, after the 4th of *May* next. The Bill has passed both Houses, and, I believe, will speedily receive the Royal Assent. Though I can never bethink any Pains or Time of mine, in the Service of my Country, as far as I may be of any Use; yet I must own, to you, this, and the like Subjects, are not those which I now relish, or that do with most Pleasure employ my Thoughts; and therefore shall not be sorry if I escape a very honourable Employment, with a thousand Pounds
a-year

a-year Salary annex'd to it, to which the King was pleas'd to nominate me some Time since. May I have but Quiet and Leisure, and a Competency of Health to perfect some Thoughts my Mind is sometimes upon, I should desire no more for my self in this World, if one Thing were added to it, *viz.* You in my Neighbourhood. You cannot imagine how much I want such a Friend within Distance, with whom I could confer freely; *de quolibet Ente*, and have his Sense of my Reveries, and his Judgment to guide me.

I am asham'd to receive so many Thanks for having done so little for a Man who came recommended to me by you. I had so little Opportunity to shew the Civility I would have done to Mr. *Burridge*, that I should not know how to excuse it to you or him, were not he himself a Witness of the perpetual Hurry I was in all the Time I was then in Town. I doubt not at all of his Performance in the Translation of my Book he has undertaken. He has Understanding, and *Latin*, much beyond those who usually meddle with such Works: And I am so well satisfied, both of his Ability, and your Care, that the sending me a Specimen, I shall look on as more than needs. As to a *Treatise of Morals*, I must own to you that you are not the only Persons (you and Mr. *Burridge* I mean) who have been for putting me upon it; neither have I wholly laid by the Thoughts of it. Nay, I so far incline to comply with your Desires, that I every now and then lay by some Materials for it, as they occasionally occur in the Rovings of my Mind. But when I consider that a Book of *Offices*, as you call it, ought not to be slightly done, especially by me, after what I have said of that Science in my *Essay*; and that *Nonumque prematur in annum*,

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is a Rule more necessary to be observed in a Subject of that Consequence, than in any Thing *Heracle* speaks of; I am in doubt whether it would be prudent, in one of my Age and Health, not to mention other Disabilities in me, to set about it. Did the World want a Rule, I confess there could be no Work so necessary, nor so commendable. But the Gospel contains so perfect a Body of Ethicks, that Reason may be excused from that Enquiry, since she may find Man's Duty clearer and easier in Revelation than in her self. Think not this the Excuse of a lazy Man, though it be perhaps of one, who having a sufficient Rule for his Actions, is content therewith, and thinks he may, perhaps, with more Profit to himself, employ the little Time and Strength he has in other Re-searches, wherein he finds himself more in the dark.

You put too great a Value on my Writings, by the Design you own on Mr. *Burridge*, in reference to them. I am not to flatter my self, that because they had the good Luck to pass pretty well here amongst *English* Readers, that therefore they will satisfy the learned World, and be fit to appear in the learned Language. Mr. *Wynne's* Abstract of my *Essay* is now publish'd, and I have sent order to Mr. *Churchill* to send you one of them. Thus far in answer to yours of the 14th of *March*. I come now to that of the 24th of *December*.

My Lord Deputy and you did too great Honour to the Paper I sent you, and to me, upon that Account. I know too well the Deficiency of my Style, to think it deserves the Commendations you give it. That which makes my Writings tolerable, if any thing, is only this, that I never write for any thing but Truth, and
never

never publish any thing to others, which I am not fully persuaded of my self, and do not think that I understand. So that I never have need of false Colours to set off the weak Parts of an *Hypothesis*, or of obscure Expressions, or the Assistance of artificial Jargon, to cover an Error of my System or Party. Where I am ignorant (for what is our Knowledge!) I own it: And though I am not proud of my Errors, yet I am always ready and glad to be convinced of any of them. I think there wants nothing but such a Preference of Truth to Party-Interest, and Vain-glory, to make any body out-do me, in what you seem so much to admire.

Though Sir *Walter Younge* be an intimate Friend of mine, yet I can assure you I know nothing of those three Prints he frank'd to you, and so have no Title to any Part of your Thanks.

I see by Mr. S's Answer to that which was originally your Question, how hard it is, even for ingenious Men, to free themselves from the Anticipations of Sense. The first Step towards Knowledge is to have clear and distinct Ideas; which I have just Reason, every Day more and more, to think few Men ever have, or think themselves to want; which is one great Cause of that infinite Jargon and Nonsense which so pesters the World. You have a good Subject to work on; and therefore pray let this be your chief Care, to fill your Son's Head with clear and distinct Ideas, and teach him, on all Occasions, both by Practice and Rule, how to get them, and the Necessity of it. This, together with a Mind active, and set upon the attaining of Reputation and Truth, is the true principling of a young Man. But to give him a Reverence for our Opinions, because we taught them, is not to make knowing Men,

116 *Familiar* L E T T E R S, *between*

but prating Parrots. I beg your Pardon for this Liberty; it is an Expression of Good-will, and not the less so, because not within the precise Forms of Good-Breeding. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most affectionate

humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, June 6, 1696.

Honour'd S I R,

'TIS a melancholy Thought to me, that since I have had the Happiness of your Correspondence, there has hardly happen'd a Year, when both you and I have not made it an Apology for our long Silence, that we have been indisposed in our Health; yet it has pleased God that so it has been, and so it is on my side at present. About four Years and an half ago I was first seized by a violent Cholick, which then so weaken'd me, that, to this Time, I lie so far under the Effects thereof, as upon any Cold to be very apt to relapse into the same. And so it has been with me for a while past; but now, God be thank'd, I am again well recover'd. I had not otherwise so long deferr'd my Answer to yours of *March* the 30th, which, after a long Silence, brought me the Assurance of your Health, and therewith no small Satisfaction; having, before that, entertain'd some painful Thoughts of your Indisposition, from some Rumours I had heard,

heard. But I find Heaven is not yet so angry with us, as to take you from amongst us.

And now I most heartily congratulate you, both on the Recovery of your Health, and on the honourable Preferment you have lately received from His Majesty. In your Writings concerning Money, you have given such demonstrative Proofs of your Reach, even in the Business of the World, that I should have wonder'd had the King overlook'd you. And I do as much wonder, that, after what you have publish'd on that Subject, there should remain the least Doubt with any Man concerning that Matter. But, I fancy, 'tis only those who are prejudiced by their Interest, that seem to be dissatisfied; such as *Bankers*, &c. who make a Prey of the Peoples Ignorance in this great Affair. But, I think, you have clear'd up the Mystery, and made it so plain to all Mens Capacities, that *England* will never again fall into the like Inconveniences. Till you writ, we used Money as the *Indians* do their *Wampompeek*, it serv'd us well enough for buying and selling, and we were content, and heeded it no farther; but for the intimate Nature, Affections, and Properties thereof, we no more understand them than the *Indians* their Shells.

I have read over Mr. *Wynne's* Abridgment of your *Essay*: But I must confess to you, I was never more satisfied with the Length of your *Essay*, than since I have seen this Abridgment; which, though done justly enough, yet falls so short of that Spirit which every where shews it self in the Original, that nothing can be more different. To one already vers'd in the *Essay*, the Abridgment serves as a good Remembrancer; but, I believe, let a Man wholly unacquainted with the former, begin to read the latter, and he will not

so well relish it. So that how desirous soever I might have formerly been of seeing your *Essay* put into the Form of a Logick for the Schools, I am now fully satisfied I was in an Error; and must freely confess to you, that I wish Mr. *Wynne's* Abridgment had been yet undone. That Strength of Thought and Expression, that every where reigns throughout your Works, makes me sometimes wish them twice as long.

I find, by some little Pieces I have lately met with, that you are the reputed *Author* of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*: Whether it be really so or not, I will not presume to enquire, because there is no Name to the Book; this only I will venture to say on that Head, that whoever is the *Author* or *Vindicator* thereof, he has gotten as weak an Adversary in Mr. *Edwards* to deal with, as a Man could wish; so much unmannerly Passion, and *Billingsgate* Language, I have not seen any Man use. In so much, that were Mr. *Edwards* to defend the best Cause in the World, should he do it in that manner, he would spoil it. Were an Angel of Heaven to justify a Truth with Virulence and Heat, he would not prevail.

And now, my ever honour'd Friend, with much Reluctance, I am to tell you, that I cannot be so happy this Summer as to see you in *England*. 'Tis needless to trouble you with a long Detail of the Reasons hereof; but what between my own private Affairs, and a little Place I have in the Publick, so it is, and I cannot help it. But as a small Repair to my self, of this Disappointment, I shall beg the Favour of you to admit a young Gentleman, whom I shall send to you within a while, only to look on you, and afterwards to look on a Picture of yours, which I hear is at Mr. *Churchill's*. The young Gentleman's Name
is

is *Howard*, a modest and ingenious Youth, and excellently skill'd both in the Judicious and Practical Part of Painting; for his Advancement wherein he is now kept at *London*, and designs soon for *Italy*. He is eldest Brother to my Brother's Wife, of a good Fortune and Family. If, by his Report, I understand that that Picture of yours at Mr. *Churchill's* be an excellent Piece, and like you, he will procure it to be finely copied for me, and may save you the Trouble of sitting; but if it prove otherwise, and be not worth Copying, I will then make it my Request to you, that, at your Leisure, you would spare me so many Hours time, as to sit for such a Hand as Mr. *Howard* shall procure to take your Picture. This I thought fit to intimate to you before-hand, that when he waits on you, you may be forewarned of his Business.

I doubt not, but by this Time, you have heard of our Lord-Deputy *Capel's* Death. We are now under a most unsettled Government, and our Eyes are fix'd on *England* for Relief. Some here wish for your Noble Patron, my Lord *Pembroke*, and go so far as to say that he will be the Man. I am confident we should be happy under one that favour'd you; and if there be any thing in this Report, you would highly favour me, by letting his Lordship know that here he will find me, amongst several others that are your Admirers; for that I reckon the most advantageous Character I can come recommended under to his Lordship.

Mr. *Burridge* has been lately so taken up with his Ecclesiastick Affairs in the Country, that (as he writes me word) he has hitherto made little farther Progress in the Translation of the *Essay*, but he promises now to set about it earnestly.

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I wish you would give me your free Opinion of what I have already sent you thereof.

I fear your Publick Business will, in some measure, take you off from your more retired Thoughts, by which the World were Gainers every Day. But, good Sir, let me intreat you, that at your leisure Hours you would think on, and send a Line to

Your most affectionate,

and humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, 2 July, 1696.

S I R,

I Cannot, without great Trouble, hear of any Indisposition of yours; your Friendship, which Heaven has bestow'd on me, as one of the greatest Blessings I can enjoy for the Remainder of my Life, is what I value at so high a Rate, that I cannot consider my self within danger of losing a Person, every way so dear to me, without very great Uneasiness of Mind.

Thus far I got, when I sat down to write to you about a Month since, as you will see by the Date at the Top; Business, and a little Excursion into the Country, has hinder'd me ever since. Were you a Man I only cared to talk with out of Civility, I should sooner answer your Letters. But, not contenting my self with such a formal Correspondence with you, I cannot find in my Heart

Heart to begin writing to you, till I think I shall have Time to talk a great deal, and pour out my Mind to a Man to whom I make sure I can do it with Freedom; his Candor and Friendship allows that, and I find I know not what Pleasure in doing it. I promised my self abundance of Pleasure this Summer in seeing you here, and the Disappointment is one of the most sensible I could have met with in my private Concerns; and the Occasion that robb'd me of that Satisfaction frights me. I have, I thank God, now as much Health as my Constitution will allow me to expect. But yet, if I will think like a reasonable Man, the Flattery of my Summer Vigour ought not to make me count beyond the next Winter at any time for the future. The last sat so heavy upon me, that it was with Difficulty I got through it; and you will not blame me, if I have a longing to see and embrace a Man I esteem and love so much, before I leave this silly Earth; which, when the Conveniences of Life are moderately provided for, has nothing of Value in it equal to the Conversation of a knowing, ingenious, and large-minded Friend, who sincerely loves and seeks Truth.

When I took Pen in hand to continue this Letter, I had yours of *March* and *June* last before me, with a Design to answer them. But my Pen run on, as you see, before I could get leave of my forward Thoughts to come to what was my chief Business, *viz.* to read again, and answer those kind Letters of yours.

That of *March* 28. brought me a Sample of Mr. *Burridge's* Translation: Upon my reading of it, I began to correct it after my Fashion, and intended to have gone through that, and so all the rest of the Sheets, as they came to my Hand;
but

but some other more pressing Occasion interrupted me, and now I am past all Hopes to have any Leisure at all to do any Thing more to it in that Kind, and must wholly leave it to his and your Care. When I say your Care, I do not make so ill an Use of your Kindness, as to expect you should look it over, and correct it; but I doubt not, but you have such an Interest in your College, that you can have the Assistance of some able Man there to do it. The Subject it self, and my Way of expressing my Thoughts upon them, may, I doubt not, but be very different from the Genius of the *Latin* Tongue, and therefore I should not think it amiss, if Mr. *Burridge* would take more Liberty to quit the Scheme and Phrase of my Stile, and so he takes but my Sense, to comply more with the Turn and Manner of *Tully's* Philosophical Language. For so he has but my Sense, I care not how much he neglects my Words; and whether he expresses my Thoughts, you are as good a Judge as I, for I think you as much Master of them. I say this to excuse you from the Trouble of sending his Papers over to me as he dispatches them; for, in my present Circumstances, I shall hardly have Time so much as to peruse them. Pray, when you see, or send to him, give him my humble Service.

Though your Cholick has done me no small Prejudice, yet I am much more angry with it, upon the Account of those Inconveniences it has made you suffer. I know you are in skilful, as well as careful Hands, under the Care of your Brother, and it could not be adviseable in any one to draw you from them. The Cholick is so general a Name for Pains in the lower Belly, that I cannot from thence pretend to make any

Judg-

Judgment of your Case; but it can be no harm to advise you to ask him, whether he does not think that the drinking of our *Bath Waters* may be useful to you in your Case. I know those Waters mightily strengthen those Parts.

Your Congratulation to me I take as you meant, kindly and seriously, and, it may be, it is what another would rejoice in; but, if you will give me leave to whisper Truth without Vanity, in the Ear of a Friend, 'tis a Preference which I shall get nothing by, and I know not whether my Country will, though that I shall aim at with all my Endeavours.

Riches may be instrumental to so many good Purposes, that it is, I think, Vanity, rather than Religion or Philosophy, to pretend to condemn them. But yet they may be purchased too dear. My Age and Health demand a Retreat from Bustle and Business, and the Pursuit of some Enquiries I have in my Thoughts, makes it more desirable than any of those Rewards which publick Employments tempt People with. I think the little I have enough, and do not desire to live higher, or die richer than I am. And therefore you have Reason rather to pity the Folly, than congratulate the Fortune, that engages me in the Whirlpool.

'Tis your Pre-occupation, in favour of me, that makes you say what you do of Mr. *Wynn's* Abridgment; I know not whether it be that, or any Thing else, that has occasion'd it; but I was told, some Time since, that my *Essay* began to get some Credit in *Cambridge*, where, I think for some Years after it was published, it was scarce so much as look'd into. But now I have some Reason to think it is a little more favourably received there, by these two Questions held there

there this last Commencement, viz. *Probabile est animam non semper cogitare: And, Idea Dei non est innata.*

What you say of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, gives me occasion to ask your Thoughts of that *Treatise*, and also how it passes amongst you there; for here, at its first coming out, it was received with no Indifferency, some speaking of it with great Commendation, but most censuring it as a very bad Book. What you say of Mr. *Edwards* is so visible, that I find all the World of your Mind.

This is now a third Sitting before I finish this Letter; whereby, I fear, I shall give you an ill Picture of my self. By the reading of the next Paragraph of your obliging Letter of June 6. I am mightily comforted to find that it is not want of Health (as it run in my Head by a strong Impression I found remain'd in my Mind, from the Cholick mentioned in the beginning of your Letter) but Business, that keeps me this Year from the Happiness of your Company. This is much more tolerable to me than the other, and though I suffer by it, yet I can bear it the better, whilst there is room to hope it may be such that both you and your Country may receive Advantage by it. Mr. *Howard*, whom I was resolving yesterday Morning to enquire after, prevented me by a Visit he made me, wherein he gave me an Account he had received a Letter from you since his Return from *Cambridge*. That which you desire of me, as the chief Reason of affording me his Acquaintance, is what I cannot refuse, and yet it causes in me some Confusion to grant. If the Original could do you any Service, I shall be glad; but to think my Picture worth your having, would carry too much Vanity with it, to allow

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 125

allow my Consent, did not the Skill of the Painter often make amends for the Meanness of the Subject, and a good Pencil frequently make the painted Representation of more Value than the real Substance. This may probably be my Case. Mr. Howard is a very pretty young Gentleman, and I thank you for his Acquaintance. I wish it lay in my Power to do him any Service whilst he is here. If the Length of my Letter could be an Excuse for the Slowness of its coming, I have certainly made a very ample Apology; though I satisfy my self neither in being silent so long, nor in tiring you with talking so much now; but 'tis from an Heart wholly devoted to you. I am,

S I R,

Aug. 4,
1696.

Your most affectionate,

bumble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. Locke to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, 12 Sept. 1696.

S I R,

COULD the Painter have made a Picture of me capable of your Conversation, I should have sat to him with more Delight than ever I did any Thing in my Life. The Honour you do me, in giving me thus a Place in your House, I look upon as the Effect of having a Place already in your Esteem and Affection; and that made me more easily submit to what me-thought look'd too much

much like Vanity in me. Painting was design'd to represent the Gods, or the great Men that stood next to them. But Friendship, I see, takes no Measure of any Thing, but by it self; and where it is great and high, will make its Object so, and raise it above its Level. This is that which has deceived you into my Picture, and made you put so great a Compliment upon me; and I do not know what you will find to justify your self to those who shall see it in your Possession. You may indeed tell them, the Original is as much yours as the Picture; but this will be no great Boast, when the Man is not more considerable than his Shadow. When I look'd upon it, after it was done, methought it had not that Countenance I ought to accost you with. I know not whether the secret Displeasure I felt, whilst I was sitting, from the Consideration that the going of my Picture brought us no nearer together, made me look grave: But this I must own, that it was not without Regret, that I remember'd that this Counterfeit would be before me with the Man that I so much desired to be with, and could not tell him, how much I long'd to put my self into his Hands, and to have him in my Arms. One Thing pray let it mind you of, and when you look on it at any Time, pray believe, that the Colours of that Face on the Cloath, are more fading and changeable than those Thoughts which will always represent you to my Mind, as the most valuable Person in the World, whose Face I do not know, and one whose Company is so desirable to me, that I shall not be happy till I do.

Though I know how little Service I am able to do, yet my Conscience will never reproach me for not wishing well to my Country; by which I mean

mean *Englishmen*, and their Interest every where. There has been, of late Years, a Manufacture of Linen carried on in *Ireland*, if I mistake not; I would be glad to learn from you the Condition it is in; and, if it thrives not, what are the Rubs and Hindrances that stop it. I suppose you have Land very proper to produce Flax and Hemp, why could not there be enough, especially of the latter, produced there to supply his Majesty's Navy? I should be obliged by your Thoughts about it, and how it might be brought about. I have heard there is a Law requiring a certain Quantity of Hemp to be sown every Year: If it be so, how comes it to be neglected? I know you have the same publick Aims for the Good of your Country that I have, and therefore, without any Apology, I take this Liberty with you. I received an Account of your Health, and your Remembrance of me, not long since, by Mr. *Howard*, for which I return you my Thanks. I troubled you with a long Letter about the Beginning of the last Month, and am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate,

and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.



Mr.

*Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.**Dublin, Sept 26, 1696.**Honoured S I R,*

I Have now before me two of yours, one of *August* the 4th, and t'other of the 12th Instant. I had sooner answer'd the former, but that I waited to give you an Account of the farther Progress of the Translation, which Mr. *Burridge* faithfully promised me; and I lately understand from him, that he has gone through the three first Chapters of the first Book. I must confess his Avocations are many, and therefore his Progress is not so quick as I could desire: But I am sure he will accomplish it, and that well too; and Mr. *Churchill* has told him that you say, *sat cito, si sat bene*: And he is very well pleased that you give him Time.

I do not wonder that your *Essay* is received in the Universities. I should indeed have wonder'd with Indignation at the contrary; *Magna est Veritas, & praevalabit*. We may expect a Liberty of Philosophizing in the Schools; but that your Doctrine should be so soon heard out of our Pulpits, is what is much more remarkable. He that, even ten Years ago, should have preach'd, that *Idea Dei non est innata*, had certainly drawn on him the Character of an Atheist; yet now we find Mr. *Bentley* very large upon it, in his Sermons at Mr. *Boyle's* Lectures, *Serm. I. p. 4. and Serm. III. p. 5.* And Mr. *Whiston*, in his *New Theory of the Earth*, p. 128.

Mentioning these Books minds me to intimate to you, that these ingenious Authors agree exactly with you in a Passage you have in your
Thoughts

Thoughts of Education, p. 337. 3d Edit. §. 192. That the *Phænomenon of Gravitation* cannot be accounted for by meer Matter and Motion, but seems an immediate Law of the Divine Will so ordering it. And you conclude that Section thus; Reserving to a fitter Opportunity, a fuller Explanation of this Hypothesis, and the Application of it to all the Parts of the Deluge, and any Difficulties can be supposed in the History of the Flood. This seems to imply, that you have some Thoughts of writing on that Subject; it would be a mighty Satisfaction to me, to know from you the Certainty thereof. I should be very glad also to hear what the Opinion of the Ingenious is concerning Mr. *Whiston's* Book.

. As to the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, I do not find but 'tis very well approved of here, amongst candid unprejudiced Men, that dare speak their Thoughts. I'll tell you what a very learned and ingenious Prelate said to me on that Occasion: I ask'd him whether he had read that Book, and how he liked it? He told me, Very well; and that if my Friend Mr. *Locke* writ it, 'twas the best Book he ever labour'd at; but, says he, if I should be known to think so, I should have my Lawns torn from my Shoulders. But he knew my Opinion afore-hand, and was therefore the freer to commit his secret Thoughts in that Matter to me.

I am very sorry I can give you no better an Account of the Linen Manufactures, of late Years set up in *Ireland*, than what follows.

About the Year 1692. (I think) one Monf. *Du Pin* came to *Dublin* from *England*; and here, by the King and Queen's Letter, and Patents thereon, he set up a Royal Corporation, for carrying on the Linen Manufacture in *Ireland*. In-

to this Corporation many of the Nobility and Gentry were admitted, more for their Countenance and Favour to the Project, than for any great Help could be expected, either from their Purfes or Heads to carry on the Work. *Du Pin* himself was nominated Under-Governor, and a great Bustle was made about the Business; many Meetings were held, and considerable Sums advanced to forward the Work, and the Members promised themselves prodigious Gains; and this Expectation prevailed so far (by what Artifices I cannot tell) as to raise the Value of each Share to forty or fifty Pounds, though but five Pounds was paid by each Member at first for every Share he had. At length Artificers began to be set at work, and some Parcels of Cloth were made, when on a sudden there happen'd some Controversy between the Corporation here in *Ireland*, and such another Corporation establish'd in *England*, by *London* Undertakers, and in which *Du Pin* was also a chief Member. Much Time was spent in managing this Dispute, and the Work began in the mean Time to flag, and the Price of the Shares to lower mightily.

But, some little Time before this Controversy happen'd, some private Gentlemen and Merchants, on their own Stock, without the Authority of an incorporating Patent, set up a Linen Manufacture at *Drogheda*, which promised, and thriv'd very well at first; and the Corporation of *Dublin* perceiving this, began to quarrel with them also, and would never let them alone till they embodied with them. These Quarrels and Controversies (the Particulars whereof I can give you no Account of, for I was not engaged amongst them, and I can get no one that was, who can give any tolerable Account of them) I say they

they grew so high, and *Du Pin* began to play such Tricks, that all were discouraged, and withdrew as fast as they could. So that now all is blown up, and nothing of this Kind is carried on, but by such as out of their own private Purples set up Looms and bleaching Yards. We have many of these in many Parts of *Ireland*; and, I believe, no Country in the World is better adapted for it, especially the *North*. I have as good Diaper, made by some of my Tenants nigh *Armagh*, as can come to a Table, and all other Cloth for Household Uses.

As to the Law for encouraging the Linen Manufacture, 'tis this. In the 17th and 18th of *Car. II.* there was an Act of Parliament made, "Obliging all Landlords and Tenants to sow such a certain Proportion of their Holdings with Flax, under a great Penalty on both, on Failure; and empowering the Sheriffs to levy 20 *l.* in each of their respective Counties, to be distributed at the Quarter-Sessions, yearly, to the three Persons who should bring in the three best Webs of Linen Cloth, of such a Length and Breadth, 10 *l.* to the first, 6 *l.* to the second, and 4 *l.* to the third." This, whilst it lasted, was a great Encouragement to the Country People, to strive to out-do each other, and it produced excellent Cloth all over the Kingdom; but then it was but temporary, only for twenty Years from passing the Act, and is now expired. But that Part of the Act, *Ordaining Landlords and Tenants to sow Flax*, is perpetual; and I can give no Reason why 'tis not executed; only this I can say, that the Transgression is so universal, and the Forfeiture thereon to the King, is so severe, that if it were enquired into, I believe all the Estates in *Ireland* would be forfeited

to his Majesty. So that now the Multitude of Sinners is their Security. This Statute you will find amongst the *Irish* Acts, 17 & 18 *Car.* II. Chap. 9.

England, most certainly, will never let us thrive by the Woollen Trade; this is their darling Mistress, and they are jealous of any Rival. But I see not that we interfere with them in the least by the Linen Trade. So that is yet left open to us to grow rich by, if it were well established and managed; but by what Means this should be, truly I dare not venture to give my Thoughts. There is no Country has better Land or Water for Flax and Hemp; and I do verily believe, the Navy may be provided here with Sailing and Cordage cheaper by far than in *England*. Our Land is cheaper, Victuals for Workmen is cheaper, and Labour is cheaper, together with other Necessaries for Artificers.

I know not in what manner to thank you for the Trouble you have been at in sitting for your Picture, on my Account. 'Tis a Favour of that Value, that I acknowledge my self extremely obliged to you for it; and therefore I could not think that the Expressions concerning it in your last belonged to me, did they come from one less sincere than your self. *Painting*, 'tis true, *was designed to represent the Gods, and the great Men that stand next them*; and therefore it was, that I desired your Picture. This, Sir, is the real and sincere Thought of

Your most obliged

humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Jan. 5, 1696.

S I R,

TIS now three Months since I ventur'd to trouble you with a Letter ; you may see thereby that I have a Regard to the publick Business you are engaged in ; but I have not been all this while without the Satisfaction of hearing that you are well ; for, as all my Friends know that I have the most respectful Concern for you in the World, so they are not wanting, on all Opportunities, from t'other side the Water, to give me the acceptable Tidings of your Welfare. I have lately received a Letter from Mr. Howard, that obliges me to make his Acknowledgments for the Favours he has received from you. This I can hardly do, without complaining of him at the same Time, for not yet sending me your Picture ; but I suppose, by this Time, 'tis on the Road hither, and I forgive him ; and, with all Gratitude imaginable, return you my Thanks on his Account.

The inclosed Piece of Natural History, I am desired by my Brother to present to you, with his most affectionate humble Service. If, upon perusing it, you think it may deserve it, you may send it by the Penny-post to the *Royal Society*, to fill up an empty Page in the Transactions. There is nothing to recommend it but its being exactly true, and an Account of a Non-descript Animal. Formerly I had a constant Correspondence with the Secretary of the Society, but of late it has fail'd ; and therefore we take the Liberty of sending this through your Hands.

134 *Familiar LETTERS, between*

I have lately met with a Book here of Monf. *Le Clerc's*, call'd, *The Causes of Incredulity*, done out of *French*. 'Tis the same *Le Clerc* that writes *Ontologia*, and dedicates it to you. I find thereby you are his Acquaintance and Friend; I should be very glad you would be pleased to give me some Account of that Gentleman, and his Circumstances in the World, if you know them. To me he seems an impartial and candid Enquirer after Truth, and to have the true Spirit of Christianity in that his Book. The Reason why I enquire after him, is, because I suppose him one of the Refugees from *France*, and perhaps he may receive some Encouragement to come into this Kingdom. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Feb. 3, 1697.

S I R,

AS I had Reason to rejoice on the Nation's Account, when you were first put on publick Business; so I find, on my own Particular, I had Cause to lament; for since that Time (to my great Concern) your Letters have been less frequent, and the Satisfaction I had in them abundantly diminished. Were I assured of the confirmed State of your Health, I could more patiently submit to this; but knowing your sickly Dis-

Disposition, a Month's Silence puts me in Pain for you ; and I am very uneasy under the Apprehensions of any Danger that may attend you : Favour me, therefore, good Sir, though it were but by a Line or two, in the Crowd of your Business ; for that it self would be some Contentment to me, in the Want of those noble Philosophical Thoughts which sometimes you were pleased to communicate to me.

And now, Sir, I shall beg a Favour of you a little out of our common Road of Correspondence. We have here lately received the Certainty of Mr. *Methwin's* being declared our Lord Chancellor ; and truly, Sir, all moderate and good Men, I find, are very well pleased at it. I suppose, by your Interest and Acquaintance with my Lord Keeper of *England*, you have an Acquaintance likewise with Mr. *Methwin* ; and I beg the Favour of you to mention me to him as your devoted Friend and Servant. I am sure, if he knows you rightly, I cannot be represented to him under a more advantageous Character ; and I know this will give me Admittance to his Graces, which I desire, more as I hear he is a good, than a great Man ; and being one of the Masters in Chancery here, 'tis natural to covet the Favour of him under whom I am to act.

I have lately met with a Book of the Bishop of *Worcester's* concerning *the Trinity*. He takes Occasion therein to reflect on some Things in your *Essay* ; but truly, I think, with no great Strength of Reason. However, he being a Man of great Name, I humbly propose it to you, whether you may not judge it worth your while to take Notice of what he says, and give some Answer to it, which will be no difficult Task. I do not intend hereby, that an Answer, on purpose

136 *FAMILIAR LETTERS, between*

pose for that End only should be framed by you, I think it not of that Moment; but perhaps you may find some accidental Occasion of taking notice thereof, either in the next Edition of your *Essay*, or some other Discourse you may publish hereafter.

I have not yet received the Satisfaction of having your Likeness before me, and have therefore lately writ a very discontented Letter about it to Mr. *Howard*. A great Man here told me I something resembled you in Countenance; could he but assure me of being like you in Mind too, 'twould have been the Eternal Honour and Boast of

Your most devoted humble Servant,

and entirely affectionate Friend,

WILL. MOLYNEUX,

I find, by a Book I lately light on, of Mr. *Norris's*, that Mr. *Masbam* and my Son agree in one odd Circumstance of Life, of having both their Mothers blind; for my Wife lost her Sight above twelve Years before she died; and I find my Lady *Masbam* is in the same Condition.



Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 22 Feb. 169⁶.

S I R,

I Fear you will be of an Opinion that I take my Picture for my self, and think you ought to look no farther, since that is coming to you, or is already with you. Indeed we are Shadows much alike, and there is not much Difference in our Strength and Usefulness. But yet I cannot but remember, that I cannot expect my Picture should answer your Letters to me, pay the Acknowledgments I owe you, and excuse a Silence as great as if I were nothing but a Piece of Cloth overlaid with Colours. I could lay a great deal of the Blame on Business, and a great deal on want of Health. Between these two I have had little Leisure, since I writ to you last. But all that will bear no Excuse to my self, for being three Letters in Arrear to a Person whom I the willingliest hear from of any Man in the World, and with whom I had rather entertain my self, and pass my Hours in Conversation, than with any one that I know. I should take it amiss if you were not angry with me, for not writing to you all this while; for I should suspect you loved me not so well as I love you, if you could patiently bear my Silence. I hope it is your Civility makes you not chide me. I promise you I should have grumbled cruelly at you, if you had been half so guilty as I have been. But if you are angry a little, pray be not so very much; for if you should provoke me any way, I know the first Sight of a Letter from you would allay all my Choler immediately; and the Joy of hear-
ing

ing you were well, and that you continued your Kindness to me, would fill my Mind, and leave me no other Passion. For, I tell you truly, that since the Receipt of your Letter in *September* last, there has scarce a Day pass'd, I am sure not a Post, wherein I have not thought of my Obligation and Debt to you, and resolv'd to acknowledge it to you, though something or other has still come between to hinder me. For you would have pitied me, to see how much of my Time was forced from me this Winter in the Country (where my Illness confin'd me within Doors) by Crowds of Letters, which were therefore indispensably to be answer'd, because they were from People whom either I knew not, or cared not for, or was not willing to make bold with; and so you, and another Friend I have in *Holland*, have been delay'd, and put last, because you are my Friends beyond Ceremony and Formality. And I reserved my self for you when I was at leisure, in the Ease of Thoughts to enjoy. For that you may not think you have been pass'd over by a peculiar Neglect, I mention to you another very good Friend of mine, of whom I have now by me a Letter, of an ancients Date than the first of your three, yet unanswer'd.

However you are pleas'd, out of Kindness to me, to rejoice in yours of *September 26.* that my Notions have had the good Luck to be vented from the Pulpit, and particularly by Mr. *Bentley*; yet that Matter goes not so clear as you imagine. For a Man of no small Name, as you know Dr. S—is, has been pleas'd to declare against my Doctrine of no innate Ideas from the Pulpit in the *Temple*, and, as I have been told, charg'd it with little less than Atheism. Though the Doctor be a great Man, yet that would not
much

much fright me, because I am told, that he is not always obstinate against Opinions which he has condemned more publick, than in an Harangue to a *Sunday's* Auditory. But that 'tis possible he may be firm here, because 'tis also said, he never quits his Aversion to any Tenet he has once declared against, till Change of Times bringing Change of Interest, and fashionable Opinions open his Eyes and his Heart, and then he kindly embraces what before deserved his Aversion and Censure. My Book crept into the World about six or seven Years ago, without any Opposition, and has since pass'd amongst some for useful, and, the least favourable, for innocent. But, as it seems to me, it is agreed by some Men that it should no longer do so. Something, I know not what, is at last spied out in it, that is like to be troublesome, and therefore it must be an ill Book, and be treated accordingly. 'Tis not that I know any Thing in particular, but some Things that have happen'd at the same time together, seem to me to suggest this: What it will produce, Time will shew. But, as you say in that kind Letter, *Magna est Veritas, & prævalebit*; that keeps me at perfect Ease in this, and whatever I write; for as soon as I shall discover it not to be Truth, my Hand shall be the forwardest to throw it in the Fire.

You desire to know what the Opinion of the Ingenious is, concerning Mr. *Whiston's* Book. I have not heard any one of my Acquaintance speak of it, but with great Commendation, as I think it deserves. And truly I think he is more to be admired, that he has laid down an Hypothesis, whereby he has explain'd so many wonderful, and, before, inexplicable Things in the great Changes of this Globe, than that some of them

them should not go easily down with some Men, when the whole was entirely new to all. He is one of those sort of Writers, that I always fanfly should be most esteem'd and encouraged. I am always for the Builders who bring some Addition to our Knowledge, or at least some new Thing to our Thoughts. The Finders of Faults, the Confuters and Pullers down, do not only erect a barren and useles Triumph upon human Ignorance, but advance us nothing in the Acquisition of Truth. Of all the Mottos I ever met with, this writ over a Water-work at Cleeve best pleased me, *Natura omnes fecit Judices, paucos Artifices.*

I thank you for the Account you gave me of your Linen Manufacture. Private Knavery, I perceive, does there as well as here destroy all Publick good Works, and forbid the Hope of any Advantages by them, where Nature plentifully offers what Industry would improve, were it but rightly directed, and duly cherished. The Corruption of the Age gives me so ill a Prospect of any Success in Designs of this kind, ever so well laid, that I am not sorry my ill Health gives me so just a Reason to desire to be eased of the Employment I am in.

Yours of the 5th of *January*, which brought with it that curious and exact Description of that Non-descript Animal, found me here under the Confinement of my ill Lungs; but knowing Business of several Kinds would make it necessary for me to go to *London* as soon as possible, I thought it better to carry it thither my self, than send it at random to the Royal Society. Accordingly, when I went up to Town, about a Fortnight since, I shew'd it to Dr. *Sloane*, and put it into his Hands to be communicated to the Royal Society;

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 141

Society; which he willingly undertook; and, I promise my self, it will be published in their next Transactions. Dr. *Sloane* is a very ingenious Man, and a very good Friend of mine; and, upon my telling him that your Correspondence with the Secretary of the Society had been of late interrupted, he readily told me, that if you pleased, he would take it up, and be very glad if you would allow him the Honour of a constant Correspondence with you.

You shew your charitable and generous Temper, in what you say concerning a Friend of mine in *Holland*, who is truly all that you think of him. He is married there, and has some kind of Settlement; but I could be glad, if you in *Ireland*, or I here (though of the latter say nothing to others) could get him a Prebendary of 100 or 200 *l. per Annum*, to bring him over into our Church, and to give him Ease, and a sure Retreat to write in, where, I think, he might be of great Use to the Christian World. If you could do this, you would offer him a Temptation would settle him amongst us; if you think you cannot, I am never the less obliged to you, for offering to one, whom you take to be a Friend of mine, what you are able. If he should miss the Effect, yet I have still the Obligation to you.

When yours of the 3d Instant met me in *London*, when I was there lately, I was rejoiced at my Journey, though I was uneasy in Town, because I thought my being there might give me an Opportunity to do you some little Service, or at least shew you my Willingness to do it. To that Purpose I went twice or thrice to wait upon Mr. *Methwin*, though he be a Person in whose Company I remember not that I was ever but once in my Life. I missed him, by good Luck, both
Times,

Times, and my Distemper increased so fast upon me, that though I went to *London* with an Intention to make some stay there, yet I was forced away in eight Days, and had not an Opportunity to see Mr. *Methwin* at all. You will, perhaps, wonder to hear me call my missing of him *good Luck*; but so I must always call that which any way favours my Design of serving you, as this did. For hereupon I applied my self to a Friend of mine, who has an Interest in him, and one to whom your Worth and Friendship to me is not unknown, who readily undertook all I desired on your Behalf. And I promise my self, from thence, that you will find Mr. *Methwin* will be as desirous of your Acquaintance, as you are of his.

You will, in a little time, see that I have obey'd, or rather anticipated a Command of yours, towards the latter End of your last Letter. What Sentiments I have of the Usage I have received from the Person you there mention, I shall shortly more at large acquaint you. What he says, is, as you observe, not of that Moment much to need an Answer; but the sly Design of it I think necessary to oppose, for I cannot allow any one's great Name a Right to use me ill. All fair Contenders for the Opinions they have, I like mightily; but there are so few that have Opinions, or at least seem, by their way of defending them, to be really persuaded of the Opinions they profess, that I am apt to think there is in the World a great deal more Scepticism, or at least want of Concern for Truth, than is imagin'd. When I was in Town I had the Happiness to see Mr. *Burridge*: He is, he says, speedily returning to you, where I hope his Book, which is received with great Applause, will procure him some-

something more solid than the Name he has got him here; which I look upon as a good Fore-runner of greater Things to come. He spoke something of his Intention to set about my Book, but that I must leave to you and him. There is lately fallen into my Hand a Paper of Monsieur L——, writ to a Gentleman here in *England*, concerning several Things in my *Essay*. I was told, when I was in *London*, that he had lately ordered his Correspondent to communicate them to me, and something else he has since writ hither. He treats me all along with great Civility, and more Compliment than I can deserve. And being, as he is, a very great Man, 'tis not for me to say there appears to me no great Weight in the Exceptions he makes to some Passages in my Book; but his great Name and Knowledge in all Parts of Learning, ought to make me think, that a Man of his Parts says nothing but what has great Weight in it; only I suspect he has, in some Places, a little mistaken my Sense, which is easy for a Stranger, who has (as I think) learned *English* out of *England*. The Servant I have now cannot copy *French*, or else you should see what he says: When I have all his Papers, you shall hear farther from me. I repine, as often as I think of the Distance between this and *Dublin*.

I read that Passage of your Letter to my Lady *Masbam* which concerned her Sight; she bid me tell you, that she hopes to see you here this Summer. You will possibly wonder at the Miracle, but that you must find in Mr. *Norris's* Book. She has, 'tis true, but weak Eyes; which Mr. *Norris*, for Reasons he knew best, was resolved to make blind ones: And having fitted his Epistle to that Supposition, could not be hinder'd from publishing it so; though my Lady, to prevent it, writ him
word

word that she was not blind, and hoped she never should be. 'Tis a strange Power, you see, we Authors take to our selves; but there is nothing more ordinary, than for us to make whomsoever we will blind, and give them out to the World for such, as boldly as *Bayard* himself. But 'tis time to spare you and your Eyes. I am, with the utmost Respect and Sincerity,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and most affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, March 16, 1694.

I Must confess, dear Sir, I have not lately (if ever in my Life) been under a greater Concern, than at your long Silence. Sometimes I was angry with my self, but I could not well tell why; and then I was apt to blame you, but I could less tell why. As your Silence continued, my Distraction increas'd; till, at last, I was happily relieved by yours of the 22d of *February*, which came not to my Hands till the 10th Instant. I then perceived I was to charge some Part of my troubled Time to the Conveyance of your Letter, which was almost three Weeks on its way hither. And that which added to my Concern, was the want of even your Shadow before me; for to this

Moment

Moment I have not received that, which will be apt, on its Appearance, to make me an Idolater. Mr. *Howard* writes me word he has sent it from *London* above five Weeks ago; but I hear nothing of it from our Correspondent, to whom 'tis consigned in *Chester*. However, seeing I know the Substance to be in Safety, and well, I can bear the Hazard of the Shadow with some Patience, and doubt not but my Expectation will be satisfied in due time.

Both *Whiston* and *Bentley* are positive against the Idea of God being innate; and I had rather rely on them (if I would rely on any Man) than on Dr. *S* —. 'Tis true, the latter has a great Name; but that, I am sure, weighs not with you or me. Besides, you rightly observe, the Doctor is no obstinate Heretick, but may veer about when another Opinion comes in Fashion; for some Men alter their Notions as they do their Clothes, in compliance to the Mode. I have heard of a Master of the *Temple*, who during the Siege of *Limerick*, writ over hither to a certain Prelate, to be sure to let him know, by the first Opportunity, whenever it came to be surrender'd; which was done accordingly, and immediately the good Doctor's Eyes were opened, and he plainly saw the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary* were not only expedient, but lawful, and our Duty. A good roaring Train of Artillery is not only *Ratio ultima Regum*, but of other Men besides.

I fancy I pretty well guess what it is that some Men find mischievous in your *Essay*: 'Tis opening the Eyes of the Ignorant, and rectifying the Methods of Reasoning, which perhaps may undermine some received Errors, and so abridge the Empire of Darkness; wherein, though the Sub-

jects wander deplorably, yet the Rulers have their Profit and Advantage. But 'tis ridiculous in any Man to say, in general, your Book is dangerous: Let any fair Contender for Truth sit down and shew wherein 'tis erroneous. Dangerous is a Word of an uncertain Signification, every one uses it in his own Sense. A *Papist* shall say 'tis dangerous, because, perhaps, it agrees not so well with Transubstantiation; and a *Lutheran*, because his Consubstantiation is in hazard; but neither consider, whether Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation be true or false, but taking it for granted that they are true, or at least gainful, whatever hits not with it, or is against it, must be dangerous.

I am extremely obliged to you for your introducing a Correspondence between Dr. *Sloane* and me; and it would be the greatest Satisfaction imaginable to me, could I but promise my self Materials in this Place fit to support it. However, I shall soon begin it, by sending him an Account of the largest Quadruped that moves on the Earth, except the Elephant, with which this Country has anciently been plentifully stock'd, but is now quite perished from amongst us, and is not to be found, for ought as I can learn, any where at present, but about *New-England, Virginia, &c.*

And now I come to that Part of your Letter relating to Monsieur *Le Clerc*, which grieves me every time I think on't. There are so many Difficulties, in what you propose concerning him, that I know not how they will be surmounted. The Clergy here have given that learned, pious, and candid Man, a Name that will frighten any Bishop from serving him, though otherways inclinable enough in his own Breast. I know but two or three that are in any Post in the *Church* capable to help him, on whom I could rely to do

it;

it; but, at the same time, I know them to be such cautious, wary Men, and so fearful of the Censure of the rest of the Tribe, that they would hardly be brought to it. I take Monsieur *Le Clerc* to be one of the greatest Scholars in *Europe*; I look on him as one of the most judicious, pious, and sincere Christians, that has appear'd publickly; and it would be an infinite Honour to us, to have him amongst us; but, I fear, an Ecclesiastical Preferment will be very difficult to be obtained for him. And indeed, when I troubled you to give me some Account of him, it was in Prospect of bringing him into my own Family, could his Circumstances have allow'd it; for I took him to be a single Man, and one of the Refugees in *Holland*, and wholly unprovided for. On his own Account, I am heartily glad he has any Settlement there; but, for my own Sake, I could wish he were in other Circumstances. But, notwithstanding these Difficulties, I have ventur'd to break this Matter to a Clergyman here in a considerable Post, Dr. Dean of, a Gentleman who is happy in your Acquaintance, and is a Person of an extensive Charity, and great Candor. He relish'd the Thing extremely, but moved the foremention'd Difficulties, and rais'd some farther Scruples concerning Mr. *Le Clerc's* Ordination; for ordained he must necessarily be, to capacitate him for an Ecclesiastical Preferment; and he question'd whether he would submit to those Oaths, and Subscription of Assent and Consent, that are requisite thereto. But he promised me, that when he attends the King this Summer into *Holland*, as his Chaplain, he will wait on Monsieur *Le Clerc* at *Amsterdam*, and discourse with him farther about this Matter. This Gentleman is the likeliest Ecclesiastick in *Ireland* to

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effect this Business, for he is a rising Man in the Church; and though he be very zealous in his own Principles, yet 'tis with the greatest Charity and Deference to others; which, I think, is the true Spirit of Christianity. I have not mention'd you in the least to him, in all this Matter.

I am extremely obliged to you for the good Offices you have done me to Mr. *Metbwin*, our Lord-Chancellor. I promise my self a great deal of Satisfaction in the Honour of his Lordship's Acquaintance. And I could wish, if it were consistent with your Convenience, that you would let me know the Person you desired to mention my Name to his Lordship.

I am heartily glad to understand that you have taken notice of what the Bishop of *Worcester* says, relating to your Book. I have been in Discourse here with an ingenious Man upon what the Bishop alledges; and the Gentleman observed, that the Bishop does not so directly object against your Notions as erroneous, but as misused by others, and particularly by the Author of *Christianity not mysterious*: But, I think, this is no very just Observation. The Bishop directly opposes your Doctrine; though, 'tis true, he does it on the Occasion of the foresaid Book. I am told the Author of that Discourse is of this Country, and that his Name is *Toland*, but he is a Stranger in these Parts: I believe, if he belongs to this Kingdom, he has been a good while out of it, for I have not heard of any such remarkable Man amongst us.

I should be very glad to see Monsieur *L—*'s Paper concerning your *Essay*. He is certainly an extraordinary Person, especially in Mathematicks; but really, to speak freely of him, in relation to
what

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what he may have to say to you, I do not expect any great Matters from him; for methinks (with all Deference to his great Name) he has given the World no extraordinary Samples of his Thoughts this way, as appears by two Discourses he has printed, both in the *Acta Erudit. Lipsiæ*; the first Anno 1694. pag. 110. *De primæ Philosophiæ Emendatione*, &c. the other Anno 1695. pag. 145. *Specimen Dynamicum*, which truly to me is in many Places unintelligible; but that may be my Defect, and not his.

I beg you would excuse me to my Lady *Masbam*, for the Error I committed relating to her Ladyship. I ever look'd on Mr. *Norris* as an *obscure, Enthusiastick Man*, but I could not think he would knowingly impose on the World so notorious a Falsity in Matter of Fact. I wish Authors would take more Pains to open than to shut Mens Eyes, and then we should have more Success in the Discoveries of Truth.——But I have almost out-run my Paper. I am,

Ever Honoured S I R,

Your most affectionate,

and most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.



*Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.**Dublin, April 6, 1697.**Honour'd S I R,*

IN my last to you of *March 16*, there was a Passage relating to the Author of *Cbristianity not mysterious*. I did not then think that he was so near me, as within the Bounds of this City; but I find since that he is come over hither, and have had the Favour of a Visit from him. I now understand (as I intimated to you) that he was born in this Country; but that he has been a great while abroad, and his Education was, for some time, under the great *Le Clerc*. But that for which I can never honour him too much, is his Acquaintance and Friendship to you, and the Respect, which, on all Occasions, he expresses for you. I propose a great deal of Satisfaction in his Conversation; I take him to be a candid Free-Thinker, and a good Scholar. But there is a violent sort of Spirit that reigns here, which begins already to shew it self against him, and, I believe, will increase daily; for I find the Clergy alarmed, to a mighty Degree, against him: And last *Sunday* he had his Welcome to this City, by hearing himself harangued against out of the Pulpit, by a Prelate of this Country.

I have at last received my most esteemed Friend's Picture; I must now make my grateful Acknowledgments to you, for the many idle Hours you spent in sitting for it, to gratify my Desire. I never look upon it but with the greatest Veneration. But though the Artist has shewn extraordinary Skill at his Pencil, yet now I have obtained some Part of my Desire, the greatest remains

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remains unsatisfied ; and seeing he could not make it speak, and converse with me, I am still at a loss. But I find you are resolved, in some measure, to supply even that too, by the kind Presents you send me of your Thoughts, both in your Letters, and in your Books, as you publish them. Mr. *Churchill* tells me I am obliged to you for one or two of this kind, that you have been pleased to favour me with ; they are not yet come to hand, but I return you my heartiest Thanks for them. I long, indeed, to see your Answer to the Bishop of *Worcester* ; but for *Edwards*, I think him such a poor Wretch, he deserves no Notice. I am,

Most Worthy S I R,

Your most affectionate

Humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 10 April, 1697.

Dear S I R,

THOUGH I do not suspect that you will think me careless or cold in that small Business you desired of me, and so left it in negligent Hands, give me leave to send you a Transcript of a Passage in my Friend's Letter, which I received last Post.

“ ’Tis a great while since that Mr. *P*— under-
 “ took to tell you that I had spoken to Mr. *Meth-*
 “ *win* about Mr. *Molyneux*, and that he received
 “ your Recommendation very civilly, and an-
 “ swer’d, He should always have a great Regard
 “ for any body you thought worthy of your
 “ Esteem; and you gave so advantageous a Cha-
 “ racter of Mr. *Molyneux*, that he should covet
 “ his Acquaintance, and therefore he must desire
 “ the Favour of you to recommend him to Mr.
 “ *Molyneux*.”

Thus my Friend, whose Words, though in
 them there be something of Compliment to my
 self, I repeat to you just as they are in his Letter,
 that you may see he had the same Success I pro-
 mised you in my last.

In Obedience to your Commands, I herewith
 send you a Copy of Mr. *L*----’s Paper. The last
 Paragraph, which you will find writ in my Hand,
 is a Transcript of part of a Letter, writ lately to
 his Correspondent here, one Mr. *Burnet*, who
 sent it me lately, with a Copy of Mr. *L*----’s Paper.
 Mr. *Burnet* has had it this Year or two, but never
 communicated it to me till about a Fortnight
 ago. Indeed Mr. *Cunningham* procured me
 a Sight of it last Summer, and he and I read it
 Paragraph by Paragraph over together, and he
 confessed to me, that some Parts of it he did not
 understand; and I shew’d him in others, that Mr.
L----’s Opinion would not hold, who was perfectly
 of my Mind. I mention Mr. *Cunningham* to you,
 in the Case, because I think him an extraordinary
 Man of Parts and Learning, and he is one that
 is known to Mr. *L*----. To answer your Free-
 dom with the like, I must confess to you, that
 Mr. *L*----’s great Name had rais’d in me an Ex-
 pectation which the Sight of his Paper did not
 answer,

answer, nor that Discourse of his in the *Acta Eruditorum*, which he quotes, and I have since read, and had just the same Thoughts of it, when I read it, as I find you have. From whence I only draw this Inference, That even great Parts will not master any Subject without great Thinking, and even the largest Minds have but narrow Swallows. Upon this Occasion I cannot but again regret the Loss of your Company and Assistance, by this great Distance.

I have lately got a little Leisure to think of some Additions to my Book, against the next Edition, and within these few Days have fallen upon a Subject, that I know not how far it will lead me. I have written several Pages on it, but the Matter, the farther I go, opens the more upon me, and I cannot yet get sight of any End of it. The Title of the Chapter will be, *Of the Conduct of the Understanding*; which, if I shall pursue, as far as I imagine it will reach, and as it deserves, will, I conclude, make the largest Chapter of my *Essay*. 'Tis well for you, you are not near me; I should be always pestering you with my Notions, and Papers, and Reveries. It would be a great Happiness to have a Man of Thought to lay them before, and a Friend that would deal candidly and freely.

I hope, e'er this, you and your Brother have received printed Copies of what the Doctor communicated to the Royal Society. I presume it is publish'd before this Time, though I have not seen it; for Dr. *Sloane* writ me Word, some Time since, that it would be speedily, and told me he would send it to you. And if Mr. *Churchill* has taken that Care he promised me, I hope you have also received my *Letter to the Bishop of Worcester*, and that I shall soon receive your Thoughts of it. The

The Business you proposed to Dr. S----- is generously designed, and well managed, and I very much wish it Success. But will not Dr. S----- be persuaded to communicate to the World the Observations he made in *Turkey*? The Discourse I had with him satisfies me, they well deserve not to be lost, as all Papers laid up in a Study are. Methinks you should prevail with him to oblige his Country.

Though my Paper be done, yet I cannot close my Letter till I have made some Acknowledgments to you, for the many great Marks you give me of a sincere Affection, and an Esteem extremely above what I can deserve, in yours of the 16th of *March*. Such a Friend, procured me by my *Essay*, makes me more than amends for the many Adversaries it has raised me. But, I think, no Body will be able to find any Thing mischievous in it, but what you say, which I suspect, troubles some Men, and I am not sorry for it, nor like my Book the worse. He that follows Truth impartially, seldom pleases any Set of Men; and I know not how a great many of those, who pretend to be Spreaders of Light and Teachers of Truth, would yet have Men depend upon them for it, and take it rather upon their Words than their own Knowledge, just cook'd and season'd as they think fit. But 'tis time to release you after so long a Trouble. I am perfectly,

Dear S I R,

Your most humble,

and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Réflexions

Réflexions de Mr. L — sur l'Essai de
l'Entendement Humain de Monsieur
LOCKE.

JE trouve tant de marques d'une pénétration peu ordinaire dans ce que Mr. Locke nous a donné sur l'Entendement de l'Homme, & sur l'Educaton, & je juge la matiere si importante que j'ai crû ne pas mal employer le tems que je donnerois à une lecture si profitable ; d'autant que j'ai fort médité moi-même sur ce qui regarde les fondemens de nos connoissances. C'est ce qui m'a fait mettre sur cette feuille quelques unes des remarques qui me sont venues en lisant son Essai de l'Entendement. De toutes les recherches il n'y en a point de plus importantes, puisque c'est la clef de toutes les autres.

Le premier livre regarde principalement les principes qu'on dit être nez avec nous. Mr. Locke ne les admet pas, non plus que les idées innées. Il a eu sans doute de grandes raisons de s'opposer en cela aux préjugés ordinaires, car on abuse extrêmement du nom d'idées & de principes. Les philosophes vulgaires se font des principes à leur phantasie, & les Cartesiens, qui font profession de plus d'exactitude, ne laissent pas de faire leur retrenchement des idées prétendues, de l'étendue de la matiere, & de l'ame ; voulant s'exempter par-là de la nécessité de prouver ce qu'ils avancent ; sous prétexte que ceux qui méditeront les idées, y trouveront la même chose qu'eux, c'est-à-dire, que ceux qui s'accoutumeront à leur jargon & à leur maniere de penser, auront les mêmes préventions, ce qui est très-véritable. Mon opinion est donc qu'on ne doit rien prendre pour principe primitif, si non les expériences & l'axiôme de l'identité ou (ce
qui

qui est la même chose) de la contradiction, qui est primitif, puisqu' autrement il n'y auroit point de difference entre la verité & la fausseté; & toutes les richesses cesseroient d'abord, s'il étoit indifférent de dire oui ou non. On ne sauroit donc s'empêcher de supposer ce principe, dèsqu'on veut raisonner. Toutes les autres veritez sont prouvables, & j'estime extrêmement la methode d'Euclide qui sans s'arrêter à ce qu'on croiroit être assez prouvé par les prétendues idées, a démontré (par exemple) que dans une triangle un côté est toujours moindre que les deux autres ensemble. Cependant Euclid a eu raison de prendre quelques axiômes pour accordés, non pas comme s'il étoient véritablement primitifs & indémonstrables, mais parce qu'il se seroit trop arrêté, s'il n'avoit voulu venir aux conclusions qu'après une discussion exacte des principes: Ainsi il a jugé à propos de se contenter d'avoir poussé les preuves jusqu'à ce petit nombre de propositions, en sorte qu'on peut dire que si elles sont vraies, tout ce qu'il dit l'est aussi. Il a laissé à d'autres le soin de démontrer ces principes mêmes qui d'ailleurs sont déjà justifiées par les expériences. Mais c'est de quoi on ne se contente point en ces matieres: C'est pourquoi Apollonius, Proclus, & autres, ont pris la peine de démontrer quelques uns des axiômes d'Euclide. Cette maniere doit être imitée des philosophes, pour venir enfin à quelques établissemens, quand ils ne seroient que provisionels; de la maniere que je viens de dire. Quant aux idées j'en ai donné quelque éclaircissement dans un petit Ecrit imprimé dans les Actes des Savans de Leipzig au mois de Novembre, 1684. pag. 537. qui est intitulé, Meditationes de cognitione, veritate, & ideis, & j'aurois souhaité que Mr. Locke l'eut vu & examiné, car je suis des plus dociles, & rien n'est plus propre à avancer nos pensées que les considerations

Idées & les remarques des personnes de mérite, lorsqu'elles sont faites avec attention & avec sincérité. Je dirai seulement ici, que les idées vraies ou réelles sont celles dont on est assuré que l'exécution est possible, les autres sont douteuses ou (en cas de preuve de l'impossibilité) chimériques. Or la possibilité des idées se prouve tant à priori par des démonstrations, en se servant de la possibilité d'autres idées plus simples, qu'à posteriori par les expériences, car ce qui est ne sauroit manquer d'être possible. Mais les idées primitives sont celles dont la possibilité est indémonstrable, & qui en effet ne sont autre chose que les attributs de Dieu. Pour ce qui est de la question, s'il y a des idées & des vérités créées avec nous, Je ne trouve point absolument nécessaire pour les commencemens, ni pour la pratique de l'art de penser, de la décider : soit qu'elles nous viennent toutes de dehors, ou qu'elles viennent de nous, on raisonnera à juste pourvu qu'on garde ce que j'ai dit ci-dessus & qu'on procède avec ordre & sans prévention. La question de l'origine de nos idées & de nos maximes n'est pas préliminaire en philosophie, & il faut avoir fait de grands progrès pour la bien résoudre. Je crois cependant pouvoir dire que nos idées (même celles de choses sensibles) viennent de notre propre fonds, dont on pourra mieux juger parce que j'ai publié touchant la nature & la communication des substances & ce qu'on appelle l'union de l'ame avec le corps. Car j'ai trouvé que ces choses n'avoient pas été bien prises. Je ne suis nullement pour la tabula rasa de Aristote, & il y a quelque chose de solide dans ce que Platon appelloit le reminiscence. Il y a même quelque chose de plus, car nous n'avons pas seulement une reminiscence de toutes nos pensées passées, mais encore un presentiment de toutes nos pensées futures. Il est vrai que c'est confusément & sans les distinguer, à peu-près comme lorsque
j'entends

J'entends le bruit de la mer, j'entends celui de toutes les vagues en particulier qui composent le bruit total; quoique ce soit sans discerner une vague de l'autre. Et il est vrai dans un certain sens que j'ai expliqué, que non seulement nos idées, mais encore nos sentimens naissent de nôtre propre fonds, & que l'ame est plus indépendante qu'on ne pense, quoiqu'il soit toujours vrai que rien ne se passe en elle qui ne soit déterminé.

Dans le livre ii. qui vient au détail des idées, j'avouë que les raisons de Mons. Locke pour prouver que l'ame est quelquefois sans penser à rien, ne me paroissent pas convaincantes; si ce n'est qu'il donne le nom de pensées aux seules perceptions assez notables pour être distinguées & retenues. Je tiens que l'ame & même le corps n'est jamais sans action, & que l'ame n'est jamais sans quelque perception. Même en dormant on a quelques sentimens confus & sombres du lieu où l'on est & d'autres choses. Mais quand l'expérience ne le confirmeroit pas je crois qu'il y en a démonstration. C'est à peu près comme on ne sauroit prouver absolument par les expériences s'il n'y a point de vuide dans l'espace & s'il n'y a point de repos dans la matiere. Et cependant ces sortes de questions me paroissent décidées démonstrativement, aussi bien qu'à Mr. Locke. Je demeure d'accord de la difference qu'il met avec beaucoup de raison entre la matiere & l'espace. Mais pour ce qui est du vuide plusieurs personnes habiles l'ont crû. Monsieur Locke est de ce nombre, j'en étois presque persuadé moi-même, mais j'en suis revenu depuis long-tems. Et l'incomparable Monsieur Huygens qui étoit aussi pour le vuide, & pour les atômes, commença à faire réflexion sur mes raisons, comme ses lettres le peuvent témoigner. La preuve du vuide prise du mouvement, dont Mr. Locke se sert, suppose que le corps est

est originairement dur, & qu'il est composé d'un certain nombre de parties inflexibles. Car en ce cas il seroit vrai, quelque nombre fini d'atômes, qu'on pourroit pendre, que le mouvement ne sauroit avoir lieu sans vuide ; mais toutes les parties de la matiere sont divisibles & pliables. Il y a encore quelques autres choses dans ce second livre qui m'arrêtent, par exemple, lorsqu'il est dit, chap. 17. que l'infinité ne se doit attribuer qu'à l'espace, au tems, & aux nombres. Je crois avec Mr. Locke qu'à proprement parler on peut dire qu'il n'y a point d'espace, de tems ni de nombre, qui soit infini, mais qu'il est seulement vrai que plus grand que soit une espace, ou tems, ou bien un nombre, il y a toujours un autre plus grand que lui sans fin, & qu'ainsi le véritable infini ne se trouve point dans un tout composé de parties. Cependant il ne laisse pas de se trouver ailleurs, savoir dans l'absolu, qui est sans parties & qui a influence sur les choses composées, parce qu'elles résultent de la limitation de l'absolu. Donc l'infini positif n'étant autre chose que l'absolu, on peut dire qu'il y en ce sens une idée positive de l'infini, & qu'elle est antérieure à celle du fini. Au reste en rejetant un infini composé on ne nie point ce que les Géomètres démontrent de seriebus infinitis, & particulièrement l'excellent Mr. Newton. Quant à ce qui est dit chap. 30. de ideis adæquatis, il est permis de donner aux termes la signification qu'on trouve à propos. Cependant sans blamer le sens de Mr. Locke je mets un degré dans les idées selon lequel l'appelle adequate celle où il n'y a plus rien à expliquer. Or toutes les idées des qualitez sensibles, comme de la lumiere, couleur, chaleur, n'étant point de cette nature, je ne les compte point parmi les adequates, aussi n'est-ce point par elles-mêmes, ni à priori, mais par l'expérience que nous en savons la réalité, ou la possibilité.

Il y a encore bien de bonnes choses dans le livre iii. où il est traité des mots ou termes. Il est très-vrai qu'on ne sauroit tout définir; & que les qualitez sensibles n'ont point de définition nominale, & on les peut appeller primitives en ce sens-là. Mais elles ne laissent pas de pouvoir recevoir une Définition réelle. J'ai montré la différence de ses deux sortes de Définitions dans la Méditation citée ci-dessus. La définition nominale explique le nom par les marques de la chose; mais la Définition réelle fait connoître à priori la possibilité du défini. Au reste j'applaudis fort à la Doctrine de Mons. Locke touchant la démonstrabilité des veritez morales.

Le iv. ou dernier livre, où il s'agit de la connoissance de la verité, montre l'usage de ce qui vient d'être dit. J'y trouve (aussi bien que dans les livres précédens) une infinité de belles réflexions. De faire là-dessus les remarques convenables, ce seroit faire un livre aussi grand que l'ouvrage même. Il me semble que les axiomes y sont un peu moins considerez qu'ils ne méritent de l'être. C'est apparemment parce qu'excepté ceux des Mathématiciens on n'en trouve guere ordinairement, qui soient importans & solides: j'ai tâché de remédier à ce défaut. Je ne méprise pas les propositions identiques, & j'ai trouvé qu'elles ont un grand usage même dans l'analyse. Il est très-vrai, que nous connoissons nôtre existence par une intuition immédiate & celle de Dieu par démonstration, & qu'une masse de matiere, dont les parties sont sans perception, ne sauroit faire un tout qui pense. Je ne méprise point l'argument inventé, il y a quelques siècles, par Anselme, qui prouve que l'être parfait doit exister; quoique je trouve qu'il manque quelque chose à cet Argument, parce qu'il suppose que l'être parfait est possible. Car si ce
seul

Seul point se démontre encore, la démonstration toute entiere sera entierement acheve. Quant à la connoissance des autres choses, il est fort bien dit, que la seule expérience ne suffit pas pour avancer assez en Physique. Un esprit pénétrant tirera plus de conséquences de quelques expériences assez ordinaires qu'un autre ne sauroit tirer des plus choisies, outre qu'il y a un art d'expérimenter & d'interroger, pour ainsi dire, la nature. Cependant il est toujours vrai qu'on ne sauroit avancer dans le détail de la Physique qu'à mesure qu'on a des expériences. Mr. Locke est de l'opinion de plusieurs habiles hommes, qui tiennent que la forme des Logiciens est de peu d'usage. Je serois quasi d'un autre sentiment ; & j'ai trouvé souvent que les paralogismes même dans les Mathématiques sont des manquemens de la forme. M. Huygens a fait la même remarque. Il y auroit bien à dire là-dessus ; & plusieurs choses excellentes sont méprisées parce qu'on n'en fait pas l'usage dont elles sont capables. Nous sommes portez à mépriser ce que nous avons appris dans les écoles. Il est vrai que nous y apprenons bien des inutilitez, mais il est bon de faire la fonction della crusca, c'est-à-dire de séparer le bon du mauvais. Mr. Locke le peut faire autant que qui que ce soit ; & de plus il nous donne des pensées considérables de son propre crû. Il n'est pas seulement Essayeur, mais il est encore Transmutateur par l'augmentation, qu'il donne du bon métal. S'il continuoit d'en faire présent au public, nous lui en serions fort redevables.

Je voudrois que Monf. Locke eut dit son sentiment à Monf. Cunningham sur mes Remarques, ou que Monf. Cunningham voulut nous le dire librement. Car je ne suis pas de ceux qui sont

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entêtez, & la raison peut tout sur moi. Mais les Affaires de négoce détournent Monf. *Locke* de ces pensées, car cette matiere de négoce est de très-grande étendue & même fort subtile & démima-thématique, &c.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 3 May, 1697.

Dear S I R,

THough the Honour you do me in the Value you put upon my Shadow, be a fresh Mark of that Friendship which is so great an Happiness to me ; yet I shall never consider my Picture in the same House with you, without Regret at my so far Distance from you my self. But I will not continue to importune you with my Complaints of that Kind ; 'tis an Advantage greater than I could have hoped, to have the Conversation of such a Friend, though with the Sea between ; and the remaining little Scantling of my Life would be too happy, if I had you in my Neighbourhood.

I am glad to hear, that the Gentleman you mention in yours of the 6th of the last Month, does me the Favour to speak well of me on that Side the Water, I never deserved other of him, but that he should always have done so on this. If his exceeding great Value of himself do not deprive the World of that Usefulness, that his Parts, if rightly conducted, might be of, I shall be very glad. He went from *London*, as I heard afterwards, soon after I left it the last Time. But he did me not the Favour to give me a Visit whilst I was there, nor to let me know

know of his intended Journey to you ; if he had, 'tis possible I might have writ by him to you, which I am now not sorry I did not. I always value Men of Parts and Learning, and think I cannot do too much in procuring them Friends and Assistance. But there may happen Occasions that may make one stop one's hand. And 'tis the Hopes young Men give, of what Use they will make of their Parts, which is to me the Encouragement of being concern'd for them. But, if Vanity increases with Age, I always fear whether it will lead a Man. I say this to you, because you are my Friend, for whom I have no Reserves, and think I ought to talk freely where you enquire, and possibly may be concerned ; but I say it to you alone, and desire it may go no farther. For the Man I wish very well, and could give you, if it needed, Proofs that I do so : And therefore I desire you to be kind to him ; but I must leave it to your Prudence, in what way, and how far. If his Carriage with you give you the Promises of a steady useful Man, I know you will be forward enough of your self, and I shall be very glad of it. For it will be his Fault alone, if he prove not a very valuable Man, and have not you for his Friend.

But I have something to say to you of another Man. *Monf. Le Clerc*, in a Letter I lately received from him, writes thus :

Monf. C----- me disoit dernièrement que s'il trouvoit occasion d'entrer dans une maison de condition en qualité de precepteur il seroit ravi d'en profiter. C'est un fort honnête homme, & qui seroit bien capable de s'acquitter de cet emploi. Il ne sçait l'Anglois que par les livres, c'est-à-dire, qu'il l'entend lorsqu'il le lit, mais qu'il ne le sçauroit parler non plus que moi, faute d'habitude. Si

quelque un de vos amis auroit besoin de precepteur, & qu'il lui donnât de quoi s'entretenir, il ne sçauroit trouver d'homme plus sage & plus réglé, outre qu'il sçait beaucoup de choses utiles pour un emploi comme celui-là, les belles lettres, l'histoire, &c.

This Mr. C----- is he that translated my Book of *Education*, upon which Occasion I came to have some Acquaintance with him by Letters, and he seems a very ingenious Man; and M. *Le Clerc* has often, before any Thing of this, spoke of him to me with Commendation and Esteem. He has since translated *The Lady's Religion*, and *The Reasonableness of Christianity* into French. You may easily guess, why I put this into my Letter to you, after what you said concerning Mr. *Le Clerc* in your last Letter but one.

You are willing, I see, to make my little Presents to you more and greater than they are. Amongst the Books that Mr. *Churchill* sent you, you are beholden to me (since you will call it so) but for one; and to that the Bishop of *Worcester*, I hear, has an Answer in the Press, which will be out this Week. So that I perceive this Controversy is a Matter of serious Moment beyond what I could have thought. This Benefit I shall be sure to get by it, either to be confirmed in my Opinion, or be convinced of some Errors, which I shall presently reform, in my *Essay*, and so make it the better for it. For I have no Opinions that I am fond of. Truth, I hope, I always shall be fond of, and so ready to embrace, and with so much Joy, that I shall own it to the World, and thank him that does me the Favour. So that I am never afraid of any Thing writ against me, unless it be the wasting of my Time, when it is not writ closely in pursuit of Truth, and Truth only.

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In my last to you I sent you a Copy of Mr. L-----'s Paper; I have this writ me out of Holland concerning it:

Mr. L----- *Mathématicien de Hannover* ayant *ouï dire, qu'on traduisoit vôte ouvrage, & qu'on l'alloit imprimer, a envoyé ici à un de mes amis ce jugement qu'il en fait, comme pour la mettre à la tête. Cependant il a été bien aise qu'on vous le communicât. Il m'a été remis entre les mains pour cela. On m'a dit mille biens de ce Mathématicien. Il y a long tems que magna & praeclara minatur, sans rien produire que quelques Démonstrations détachées. Je crois néanmoins qu'il ne vous entend pas, & je doute, qu'il s'entende bien lui-même.*

I see you and I, and this Gentleman, agree pretty well concerning the Man; and this Sort of Fidling makes me hardly avoid thinking, that he is not that very great Man as has been talked of him. His Paper was in *England* a Year, or more, before it was communicated to me, and I imagine you will think he need not make such a great Stir with it.

My *Essay*, you see, is translating into *French*, and it is by the same Mr. *Cofte* above-mentioned. But this need not hinder Mr. *Burridge* in what he design'd, for Mr. *Cofte* goes on exceeding slowly, as I am told.

You see how forward I am to importune you with all my little Concerns. But this would be nothing to what I should do, if I were nearer you: I should then be talking to you *de quolibet ente*, and consulting you about a thousand Whimfies that come sometimes into my Thoughts. But with all this I unfeignedly am,

Dear S I R,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

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*The Poem that was sent you by Mr. Churchill, amongst the other Books, I believe will please you; there are some noble Parts in it.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, May 15, 1697.

My most honour'd Friend,

Nothing could excuse my keeping of your kind Letter of *April 10*, so long by me unanswer'd, but an unexpected and melancholy Accident that has lately befallen a dear Sister of mine, who, on the 24th of the last Month, lost her Husband, the Lord Bishop of *Meath*, a learned and worthy Prelate. Our whole Family has so deeply partaken in this Trouble, that we have been all under a great Concern: But more particularly my self, who am intrusted by the good Bishop with the Disposal of some of his Affairs. This has of late so taken me up, that I had not time to take the Satisfaction of writing to you; but the Hurry of that Business being somewhat abated, I resume the Pleasure of kissing your Hands, and of assuring you, with what a deep Sense of Gratitude I receive the Kindness you have done me with my Lord Chancellor *Metbwin*. I hope we shall see his Lordship soon here, for we understand he parts from *London* the 18th Instant.

I am extremely obliged to you for the Trouble you have been at in communicating to me Mons. *L----*'s Paper, and I am now sorry I ever put the Task on you; for to speak freely to you, as I formerly did, I find nothing in this Paper to make

make me alter the Opinion I had of Monsieur L----'s Performances this way. He is either very unhappy in Expressing, or I am very dull in Apprehending his Thoughts. I do not know but some of the Doubts he raises concerning your *Essay*, may proceed from his Unacquaintance with our Language; and this makes me yet more earnest to procure the Translation of your *Essay*; but Mr. *Burridge*, since he last arrived here, has been wholly employ'd in overtaking his Business in the Country, to which he is run much in Arrear. He is Chaplain to my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*, and, on that Account, I hope he will keep much in Town, and then I shall ply him hard.

I will give you a thousand Thanks for the Present of your *Letter to the Bishop of Worcester*; but I need not give you my Opinion of it, otherwise than as you find it in the following Paragraph of a Letter which I received concerning it, from a Reverend Prelate of this Kingdom (the present Bishop of between our selves.)

“ I read Mr. *Locke's Letter to the Bishop of Worcester* with great Satisfaction, and am
“ wholly of your Opinion, That he has fairly
“ laid the great Bishop on his Back; but 'tis with
“ so much Gentleness, as if he were afraid, not
“ only of hurting him, but even of spoiling or
“ tumbling his Clothes. Indeed I cannot tell
“ which I most admire, the great Civility and
“ good Manners in his Book, or the Force and
“ Clearness of his Reasonings. And I fancy the
“ Bishop will thank him privately, and trouble
“ the World no more with this Dispute.”

You see thereby my Friend's, and my own Opinion of your Book; and I can tell you farther, that all those whom I have yet conversed

with in this Place concerning it, agree in the same Judgment. And another (Bishop too) told me, that *though your Words were as smooth as Oil, yet they cut like a two-edg'd Sword.*

At the same time that Mr. Churchill sent me your *Letter to the Bishop*, he sent me likewise the *Second Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity*. If you know the Author thereof (as I am apt to surmise you may) be pleased to let him know that I think he has done *Edwards* too much Honour, in thinking him worth his Notice; for so vile a poor Wretch, certainly, never appear'd in Print. But, at the same time, tell him, That as this *Vindication* contains a farther Illustration of the Divine Truths in the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, he has the Thanks of me, and of all fair, candid Men, that I converse with about it.

In giving you the Opinion we have here of your *Letter to the Bishop of Worcester*, I have rather chosen to let you know particularly that of some of our Bishops with whom I converse; for this Rank, if any, might seem inclinable to favour their Brother, could they do it with any shew of Justice. And yet, after all, I am told from *London*, that the Bishop is hammering out an Answer to you. Certainly some Men think, or hope the World will think, that Truth always goes with the last Word.

You never write to me, that you do not raise new Expectations in my longing Mind of partaking your Thoughts, on those noble Subjects you are upon. Your Chapter concerning the *Conduct of the Understanding*, must needs be very sublime and spacious. Oh Sir! never more mention to me our Distance as your Loss; 'tis my Disadvantage! 'tis my Unhappiness! I never before

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before had such reason to deplore my hard Fate, in being condemned to this Prison of an Island: But one Day or other I will get loose, in spite of all the Fetters and Clogs that incumber me at present. But if you did but know in what a Wood of Business I am engaged (by the greatest Part whereof I reap no other Advantage than the Satisfaction of being serviceable to my Friends) you would pity me. But I hope soon to rid my Hands of a great Part of this Trouble, and then I shall be at more Liberty. Till which happy Time, and for ever, I remain

Your most faithful Friend,

and most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, May 27, 1697.

Honour'd dear S I R,

THE Hints you are pleased so friendly to communicate to me, in yours of the 3d Instant, concerning Mr. T-----, are fresh Marks of your Kindness and Confidence in me, and they perfectly agree with the Apprehensions I had conceived of that Gentleman. Truly, to be free, and without Reserve to you, I do not think his Management, since he came into this City, has been so prudent. He has raised against him the Clamours of all Parties; and this, not so much by his Difference in Opinion, as by his unseasonable Way of Discouraging, Propagating, and Maintaining

taining it. Coffee-Houses, and Publick Tables, are not proper Places for serious Discourses, relating to the most important Truths. But when also a Tincture of Vanity appears in the whole Course of a Man's Conversation, it disgusts many that may otherwise have a due Value for his Parts and Learning. I have known a Gentleman in this Town, that was a most strict *Socinian*, and thought as much out of the common Road as any Man, and was also known so to do; but then his Behaviour and Discourse was attended with so much Modesty, Goodness, and Prudence, that I never heard him publickly censur'd or clamour'd against; neither was any Man in danger of Censure, by receiving his Visits, or keeping him Company. I am very loth to tell you how far 'tis otherwise with Mr. T----- in this Place; but, I am persuaded it may be for his Advantage that you know it, and that you friendly admonish him of it, for his Conduct hereafter. I do not think that any Man can be dispensed with to dissemble the Truth, and full Persuasion of his Mind, in religious Truths, when duly called to it, and upon fitting Occasions: But, I think, Prudence may guide us in the Choice of proper Opportunities, that we may not run our selves against Rocks to no Purpose, and inflame Men against us unnecessarily. Mr. T----- also takes here a great Liberty on all Occasions to vouch your Patronage and Friendship, which makes many that rail at him, rail also at you. I believe you will not approve of this, as far as I am able to judge, by your shaking him off in your *Letter to the Bishop of Worcester*. But, after all this, I look upon Mr. T----- as a very ingenious Man, and I should be very glad of any Opportunity of doing him Service; to which I think my self indispensably

sably bound, by your Recommendation. One Thing more I had almost forgot to intimate to you; That all here are mightily at a loss, in guessing what might be the Occasion of Mr. T--'s coming at this Time into *Ireland*. He is known to be of no Fortune or Employ, and yet is observed to have a Subsistence; but, from whence it comes, no one can tell certainly. These Things, join'd with his great Forwardness in appearing publick, makes People surmise a thousand Fancies. If you cou'd give me light into these Matters, as far as it may help me in my own Conduct, I should be much obliged to you.

By the Books which Mr. *Cofse* has translated, I perceive his Inclinations would be extremely agreeable to mine. And I should be very happy, could I give him, at present, any Encouragement to come into my poor Family. But I have a Gentleman with me in the House, whose Dependance is wholly upon me; and I cannot find Fault with my little Boy's Progress under him. When I formerly made Enquiry from you about Monsieur *Le Clerc*, I was in some Prospect of providing for this Gentleman whom I now have, by the Favour of a good Friend, who is since dead. So that, at present, having no Opportunity of disposing of him to his Advantage, I cannot conveniently part with him. However, I do not know how soon it may be otherwise; and therefore be pleased, in the mean time, to let me know something farther of Monsr. *Cofse*; as whether he be a compleat Master of the *Latin* Tongue, or other Language; whether a Mathematician, or given to experimental Philosophy; what his Age, and where educated? As to the *Belles Lettres*, *l'Histoire*, &c. Monsieur *Le Clerc* has mentioned them already in his Character.

I am mightily pleased to find that some others have the same Thoughts of *Monf. L-----* as you and I. His Performances in Mathematicks have made all the World mistaken in him. But certainly in other Attempts I am of your Opinion, he no more understands himself, than others understand him.

Mr. Churchill favoured me with the Present of *Sir Richard Blackmore's King Arthur*. I had *Prince Arthur* before, and read it with Admiration; which is not at all lessened by this second Piece. All our *English* Poets (except *Milton*) have been mere Ballad-makers, in comparison to him. Upon the Publication of his first Poem, I intimated to him, through *Mr. Churchill's* Hands, how excellently I thought he might perform a Philosophick Poem, from many Touches he gave in his *Prince Arthur*; particularly from *Mopa's Song*. And I perceive, by his Preface to *King Arthur*, he has had the like Intimations from others, but rejects them, as being an Enemy to all Philosophick Hypotheses. Were I acquainted with *Sir R. Blackmore*, I could assure him (and if you be so, I beseech you to tell him) that I am as little an Admirer of Hypotheses as any Man, and never proposed that Thought to him with a Design that a Philosophick Poem should run on such a Strain. *A natural History of the great and admirable Phenomena of the Universe*, is a Subject, - I think, may afford sublime Thoughts in a Poem; and so far, and no farther, would I desire a Poem to extend.

You see I am carried beyond my designed Bounds, by the Mark on t'other side this Leaf. But as I am never weary of reading Letters from you, so I think I am never tired of writing to you.

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you. However, 'tis time I relieve you, by subscribing my self entirely

*Your most affectionate
and devoted Servant,*

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 15 June, 1697.

Dear S I R,

I Have the Honour of your two obliging Letters of the 15th and 27th of *May*, wherein I find the same Mind, the same Affection, and the same Friendship, which you have so frankly, and so long, made me happy in. And, if I may guess by the Paragraph which you transcribed out of your Friend's Letter into yours of the 15th of *May*, I shall have reason to think your Kindness to me is grown infectious, and that by it you fascinate your Friends Understanding, and corrupt their Judgments in my Favour. 'Tis enough for me, in so unequal a Match, if mighty Truth can keep me from a shameful Overthrow. If I can maintain my Ground, 'tis enough, against so redoubtable an Adversary; but Victory I must not think of. I doubt not but you are convinced of that by this time, and you will see how silly a Thing it is for an unskill'd Pigmy to enter the Lists with a Man at Arms, vers'd in the Use of his Weapons.

My Health, and Busineses that I like as little as you do those you complain of, make me know
what

what it is to want Time. I often resolve not to trouble you any more with my Complaints of the Distance between us, and as often impertinently break that Resolution. I never have any Thoughts working in my Head, or any new Project start in my Mind, but my Wishes carry me immediately to you, and I desire to lay them before you. You may justly think this carries a pretty severe Reflection on my Country, or my self, that in it I have not a Friend to communicate my Thoughts with. I cannot much complain of want of Friends to other Purposes: But a Man with whom one can freely seek Truth, without any Regard to old or new, fashionable or not fashionable, but Truth merely for Truth's sake, is what is scarce to be found in an Age; and such an one I take you to be. Do but think then what a Pleasure, what an Advantage it would be to me, to have you by me, who have so much Thought, so much Clearness, so much Penetration, all directed to the same Aim which I propose to my self, in all the Ramblings of my Mind. I, on this Occasion, mention only the Wants that I daily feel, which makes me not so often speak of the other Advantages I should receive from the Communication of your own Notions, as well as from the Correction of mine. But with this Repining I trouble you too much, and for the Favours I receive from you thank you too little, and rejoice not enough in having such a Friend, though at a distance.

As to the Gentleman, to whom you think my friendly Admonishments may be of Advantage for his Conduct hereafter, I must tell you, that he is a Man to whom I never writ in my Life, and, I think, I shall not now begin. And as to his Conduct, 'tis what I never so much as spoke
to

to him of: That is a Liberty to be only taken with Friends and Intimates, for whose Conduct one is mightily concern'd, and in whose Affairs one interests himself. I cannot but wish well to all Men of Parts and Learning, and be ready to afford them all the Civilities and good Offices in my Power. But there must be other Qualities to bring me to a Friendship, and unite me in those stricter Ties of Concern: For I put a great deal of Difference between those whom I thus receive into my Heart and Affection, and those whom I receive into my Chamber, and do not treat there with a perfect Strangeness. I perceive you think your self under some Obligation of peculiar Respect to that Person, upon the Account of my Recommendation to you; but, certainly, this comes from nothing but your over-great Tenderness to oblige me. For if I did recommend him, you will find it was only as a Man of Parts and Learning for his Age, but without any Intention that that should be of any other Consequence, or lead you any farther, than the other Qualities you should find in him should recommend him to you. And therefore whatsoever you shall, or shall not do for him, I shall no way interest my self in. I know, of your own self, you are a good Friend to those who deserve it of you; and for those that do not, I shall never blame your Neglect of them. The Occasion of his coming into *Ireland* now, I guess to be the Hopes of some Employment, now upon this Change of Hands there. I tell you *I guess*, for he himself never told me any thing of it, nor so much as acquainted me with his Intentions of going to *Ireland*, how much soever *he vouches my Patronage and Friendship*, as you are pleas'd to phrase it. And as to his Subsistence, from whence that comes, I can-

not tell. I should not have wasted so much of my Conversation with you on this Subject, had you not told me it would oblige you to give you Light in these Matters; which I have done, as a Friend to a Friend, with a greater Freedom than I should allow my self to talk to another.

I shall, when I see Sir *Richard Blackmore*, discourse him as you desire. There is, I with Pleasure find, a strange Harmony throughout, between your Thoughts and mine. I have always thought, that laying down, and building upon Hypotheses, has been one of the great Hindrances of Natural Knowledge; and I see your Notions agree with mine in it. And tho' I have a great Value for Sir *R. Blackmore*, on several Accounts, yet there is nothing has given me a greater Esteem of him, than what he says about Hypotheses in Medicine, in his Preface to *King Arthur*; which is an Argument to me that he understands the right Method of practising Physick; and it gives me great Hopes he will improve it, since he keeps in the only Way it is capable to be improved in; and has so publicly declared against the more easy, fashionable, and pleasing way of an Hypothesis, which I think has done more to hinder the true Art of Physick, which is the curing of Diseases, than all other Things put together; by making it learned; specious, and talkative, but ineffective to its great End, the Health of Mankind; as was visible in the Practice of Physick, in the Hands of the illiterate *Americans*, and the learned Physicians, that went thither out of *Europe*, stored with their Hypotheses, borrowed from Natural Philosophy, which made them indeed great Men, and admired in the Schools; but, in curing Diseases, the poor *Americans*, who had escaped those

splendid

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splendid Clogs, clearly out-went them. You cannot imagine how far a little Observation, carefully made, by a Man not tied up to the four Humours, or *Sal, Sulphur* and *Mercury*, or to *Acid* and *Alkali*, which has of late prevailed, will carry a Man in the curing of Diseases, though very stubborn and dangerous; and that with very little and common Things, and almost no Medicines at all. Of this I could, from my own Experience, convince you, were we together but a little while. But my Letter is too long already. When I am writing to you, the Pleasure of talking to you makes me forget you are a Man of Business, and have your Hands full. I beg your Pardon for it. 'Tis time to dismiss you. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most affectionate, and

most faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, July 20, 1697.

THE latest Favour I received from my ever honour'd Friend, was of the 15th of June; and I have it before me, to acknowledge with all due Gratitude. I was mightily surprized to see the Bishop of *Worcester's Answer to your Letter*; I thought he would have let that Matter fall, and have privately thank'd you, and have

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said

said no more. This was the least I expected from him; for I think indeed he might have gone farther, and made his publick Acknowledgments to you. This had been like a Man of Ingenuity and Candor; and by this he had been more valuable, in the Opinion of all I converse with here, than by the Shiftings, Windings, and Turnings he uses in his last Piece. You well observe the Bishop has shewn himself a Man at his Weapon; but I think him *Andabatarum more pugnare*, he winks as he fights. However, in the Postscript he shews a Sample of the old Leven, and must not let you go without coupling his Observations on a *Socinian* Book, with his Confutation of yours; as if there were something so agreeable between them, that they cannot be well separated. This is such an indirect Practice, and seems such an invidious Insinuation, that I cannot but give it the Name of *Malice*.

I am obliged to you for the Confidence you put in me, by communicating your Thoughts concerning Mr. T-----, more freely than you would do to every one. He has had his Opposers here, as you will find by a Book which I have sent to you by a Gentleman's Servant, to be left for you at your Lodging; wherein you will meet with a Passage relating to your self, which, though with Decency, yet I fear will not redound much to the Author's Advantage; for, with very great Assurance (an usual Companion of Ignorance) he undertakes to *demonstrate the Immateriality of the Soul*, and to shew the Falsity of your Argumentation, wherein you assert, *That we have no Proof, but that God may communicate a Power of Thinking to a certain System of Matter*. But this is all but Assertion and Promise; we are so unhappy as yet to want this *Demonstration* from
this

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this Author, and I fear we shall ever want it from him; and, I believe, you will be of my Opinion, when you read his Book. The *Author* is my Acquaintance; but two Things I shall never forgive in his Book; the one is the foul Language, and opprobrious Names he gives Mr. T-----; the other is, upon several Occasions calling in the Aid of the Civil Magistrate, and delivering Mr. T----- up to Secular Punishment. This, indeed, is a killing Argument; but some will be apt to say, That where the Strength of his Reason fail'd him, there he flies to the Strength of the Sword. And this minds me of a Business that was very surprizing to many, even several Prelates in this Place, the Presentment of some pernicious Books, and their Authors, by the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*. This is look'd upon as a Matter of dangerous Consequence, to make our Civil Courts Judges of Religious Doctrines; and no one knows, upon a Change of Affairs, whose Turn it may be next to be condemn'd. But the Example has been follow'd in our Country; and Mr. T----- and his Book have been presented here, by a Grand Jury, not one of which (I am persuaded) ever read one Leaf in *Christianity not mysterious*. Let the *Sorbonne* for ever now be silent; a learned Grand Jury, directed by as learned a Judge, does the Business much better. The Dissenters here were the chief Promoters of this Matter; but, when I asked one of them, What if a violent Church of *England* Jury should present Mr. *Baxter's* Books as pernicious, and condemn them to the Flames by the common Executioner? He was sensible of the Error, and said, He wish'd it had never been done.

I must not forget to thank you for the Countenance I have received from my Lord Chancellor

Methwin, since his coming into *Ireland*. I know 'tis all owing to your, and your Friends Endeavours. My Lord is a Person from whom the Kingdom expects very well, for hitherto his Management has been very promising. Mr. *Burridge* is his Chaplain, and expects very soon to be settled in a Parish here in *Dublin*, and then he promises me to prosecute the *Essay* with Vigour.

My Brother gives you his most humble Service. He is told by Mr. *Burridge* that you had sent him a Book in Medicine, but by what Hand he could not inform him. He has such a Value for every Thing that comes from you, that he desired me to let you know that no such Book came to his Hands, or else he had not all this while defer'd his Acknowledgments.

I perceive you are so happy as to be acquainted with Sir *Richard Blackmore*: He is an extraordinary Person, and I admire his two Prefaces as much as I do any Parts of his Books; the first, wherein he exposes the *Licentiousness and Immorality of our late Poetry*, is incomparable; and the second, wherein he prosecutes the *same Subject*, and delivers his Thoughts concerning *Hypotheses*, is no less judicious. And I am wholly of his Opinion, relating to the latter. However, the *History and Phenomena of Nature* we may venture at; and this is what I propose to be the Subject of a Philosophick Poem. Sir *Richard Blackmore* has exquisite Touches of this kind, dispers'd in many Places of his Books: (To pass over *Mopas's Son*) I'll instance one Particular, in the most profound Speculations of Mr. *Newton's* Philosophy, thus curiously touch'd in *King Arthur*, Book ix. p. 243.

*The Constellations shine at his Command,
He form'd their radiant Orbs, and with his Hand
He weigh'd, and put them off with such a Force,
As might preserve an everlasting Course.*

I doubt not but Sir R. Blackmore, in these Lines, had a Regard to the Proportionment of the projective Motion to the *Vis centripeta*, that keeps the Planets in their continued Courses.

I have by me some Observations made by a judicious Friend of mine, on both Sir R. Blackmore's Poems: If they may be any ways acceptable to Sir R. I shall send them to you; they are in the Compass of a Sheet of Paper. And, were it proper, I should humbly desire you to procure for me from Sir R. the Key to the Persons Names, in both his Poems: Most of the first I have already, and a great many in the second; but many I also want, which I should be very glad to understand. But if herein I desire any thing disagreeable, I beg Sir Richard's Pardon, and desist.

Ever since you first mentioned to me that Monsieur *Le Clerc* might be inticed into *Ireland* by a moderate Encouragement, it has sat grievous on my Spirit, that it lay not in my Power to procure for him what might be worth his Acceptance. I should reckon it (next to your Friendship) one of the greatest Glories of my Life, that I could be able any ways to contribute to transplanting him hither. To other Day I ventured to mention it to a great Prelate here, the Bishop of ----- He was pleased to favour the Proposal immediately, and gave me Directions, that I should enquire whether Monsieur *Le Clerc* would be willing to take Orders in our Church, and to

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submit to the Oaths and Injunctions thereof; and how far he is Master of the *English* Language. He told me, he doubted not but he might procure for him 150 or 200 *l. per Ann.* in some Place of Ease and Retirement. Be pleased therefore, dear Sir, to let me be informed in these Particulars, and in whatever else you think requisite in managing this Affair.

I have protracted this Letter as if I had a Design to kill you, by tiring you to Death. I beg your Excuse for it. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most affectionate
humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, 11 Sept. 1697.

Dear S I R,

IF you have received my Reply to the Bishop before this comes to your Hand, I shall need say no more to the first Paragraph of your obliging Letter of the 20th of *July*. Mr. *Churchill* tells me, he has taken care you should have it with Speed. I have order'd another to Mr. *Burridge*, who has, by his Undertaking, some Concernment now in my *Essay*. I am not delighted at all in Controversy, and think I could spend my Time to greater Advantage to my self. But, being attack'd, as I am, and in a Way that sufficiently justifies your Remarks on it, I think every body will

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will judge I had Reason to defend my self: Whether I have or no, so far as I have gone, the World must judge.

I think, with you, the Dissenters were best consider, *That what is Sauce for a Goose, is Sauce for a Gander.* But they are a sort of Men that will always be the same.

You thank me for what is owing to your own Worth. Every one who knows you, will think (if he judges right) that he receives as much Advantage as he gives by the Countenance he shews you. However, I am obliged by your Thanks to me; for if I do not procure you as much Good as you are capable of receiving from any one that comes to you from hence, 'tis my want of Ability, and not want of Will. My Heart and Inclination, wherein the Friendship lies, will always be such as I can presume will not displease you, in a Man whom I am very sensible you love.

Here was, the last Year, a Book in Physick published by a young Lad not Twenty, who had never seen the University. It was about the Motion of the Muscles, with as good an Explication of it as any I have yet seen. I believe I might have spoke to Mr. *Churchill* to send your Brother one of them, for the sake of the Author: (for, as to the Subject it self, I fear I shall never see it explained to my Satisfaction) Whether he did it or no, I have not yet asked; but the Book it self is not worth your Brother's Enquiry or Acknowledgment; though being written by such an Author, made it a kind of Curiosity. I should be very glad if I could do him here any Service of greater Importance: But I having now wholly laid by the Study of Physick, I know not what comes out new, or worth the Reading in that

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Faculty. Pray give my humble Service to your Brother, and let me know whether he hath any Children, for then I shall think my self-obliged to send him one of the next Edition of my Book of *Education*, which my Bookseller tells me is out of Print; and I had much rather be at leisure to make some Additions to that, and my *Essay of Human Understanding*, than be employed to defend my self against the groundless, and, as others think, trifling Quarrel of the Bishop. But his Lordship is pleased to have it otherwise, and I must answer for my self as well as I can, till I have the good Luck to be convinced.

I was not a little pleased to find what Thoughts you had concerning Hypotheses in Physick. Though Sir R. B's Vein in Poetry be what every body must allow him to have an extraordinary Talent in, and though with you I exceedingly valued his first Preface; yet I must own to you, there was nothing that I so much admired him for, as for what he says of Hypotheses in his last. It seems to me so right, and is yet so much out of the way of the ordinary Writers, and Practitioners in that Faculty, that it shews as great a Strength and Penetration of Judgment, as his Poetry has shewn Flights of Fancy; and therefore I was very glad to find in you the same Thoughts of it. And when he comes luckily in my way, I shall not forget your Wishes, and shall acquaint him with the Observations you mention. And the Key you desire I shall send you, if it be fit to be asked of him; which I am, at present, in some Doubt of.

Though I could my self answer many of your Questions concerning Monsieur *Le Clerc*, yet I have sent them to him himself, with the Reason of them. I have not yet received his Answer,

the

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the Expectation whereof has delayed my writing to you for some time. In the mean time, till I hear from him, I thank you in his Name and my own.

I shall be very glad to hear from you how the Linen Manufacture goes on, on that side the Water, and what Assistance the Parliament there is like to give to it; for I wish Prosperity to your Country, and very particularly all manner of Happiness to you. I am unfeignedly,

S I R,

Your most affectionate

bumble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

What I told you formerly of a Storm coming against my Book, proves no Fiction. Besides what you will see I have taken notice of in my Reply, Mr. *Serjeant*, a Popish Priest, whom you must needs have heard of, has bestowed a thick Octavo upon my *Essay*; and Mr. *Norris*, as I hear, is writing hard against it. Shall I not be quite slain, think you, amongst so many notable Combatants, and the Lord knows how many more to come?



Mr.

*Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.**Dublin, Sept. 11, 1697.**Honoured S I R,*

MY last to you was of *July 20.* since which Time I have not had the Happiness of a Line from you. But I am satisfied you are better employ'd; and indeed, when I see daily what Swarms of angry Wasps do arise against you (besides many which reach not our View in this Place) I wonder not that you should be so far engaged as to have little Time to throw away on me. T'other Day I met with the last Effort of *Mr. Edwards's* Malice; I do now heartily pity the poor Wretch; he is certainly mad, and no more to be taken Notice of hereafter, than the Railings of *Oliver's* Porter in *Betblem.* I have seen also a Philosophical Writer against you, of another Strain, one *J. S.* that writes against all Ideists; this Gentleman, though civil, yet to me is absolutely unintelligible; so unfortunate I am. Who he is I know not, but should be glad to learn from you; and what you think, in general, of his Book.

Mr. T----- is, at last, driven out of our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman, by his imprudent Management, had raised such an universal Outcry, that 'twas even dangerous for a Man to have been known once to converse with him. This made all wary Men of Reputation decline seeing him; infomuch that at last he wanted a Meal's-Meat (as I am told) and none would admit him to their Tables. The little Stock of Money which he brought into this Country being exhausted, he fell to borrowing from any one that would lend him half

half a Crown, and run in Debt for his Wigs, Cloaths, and Lodging (as I am inform'd;) and last of all, to compleat his Hardships, the Parliament fell on his Book, voted it to be burnt by the common Hangman, and ordered the Author to be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General at Law. Hereupon he is fled out of this Kingdom, and none here knows where he has directed his Course. I did believe you might be a Stranger to these Proceedings a great while, unless I had intimated them to you; and that is one of my Designs in writing this to you.

I am here very happy in the Friendship of an honourable Person, Mr. *Molesworth*, who is an hearty Admirer and Acquaintance of yours. We never meet but we remember you; he sometimes comes into my House, and tells me, 'tis not to pay a Visit to me, but to pay his Devotion to your Image that is in my Dining-room.

I should be glad to hear farther from you concerning Mons. *Le Clerc* and Mons. *Cofte*, in relation to what I formerly writ to you concerning those Gentlemen. I am,

S I R,

Your most obliged,

humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

*Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.**Dublin, Octob. 4, 1697.**Honoured S I R,*

I Perceive we were each of us mindful of t'other on the 11th of the last Month, for of that Date was your last to me, as you will find mine likewise to you bore the same.

You have already answer'd some of my impertinent Enquiries in that Letter: You tell me therein, who *J. S.* is, that writes against you. I do not now wonder at the Confusedness of his Notions, or that they should be unintelligible to me. I should have much more admired, had they been otherwise. I expect nothing from Mr. *Serjeant* but what is abstruse in the highest Degree.

I look for nothing else from Mr. *Norris*; I thought that Gentleman had enough on't, in his first Attempt on your *Essay*; but he's so over-run with Father *Malebranche*, and *Plato*, that 'tis in vain to endeavour to set him right, and I give him up as an invincible Enemy.

But above all these, I should wonder at the Bishop of *Worcester's* Obstinacy, did I not think that I partly know the Reason thereof. He has been an old Soldier in Controversies, and has hitherto had the good Luck of Victory; but now, in the latter end of his Wars, to be laid on his Back (as he thinks the World would certainly say, unless he has the last Word) would wither all his former Laurels, and lose his Glory. Your Reply to him is not yet come to hand; but I can wait with the more Patience, because I am pretty well satisfied in the Matter already.

I

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I am very glad to understand that we are to expect another Edition of your *Education*, with Additions. I never thought you writ too much on any Subject whatever.

I have formerly written to you, to know farther concerning *Monf. Coste*, who translated some of your Books into *French*. I fancy, by that Gentleman's Inclinations to your Works, he and I should agree very well. Pray let me know, whether to his *Belles Lettres* he has any Skill in the Mathematicks, Natural History, &c. As also what his Circumstances are, as to his Education, Parentage, &c. For, according to these, I may judge whether I can give him any Encouragement to come hither.

You had been troubled with this Letter sooner, but that I waited for the inclosed, to satisfy your Enquiry concerning our Linen Manufacture. You will find thereby, that we have framed a Bill to be enacted for the Encouragement thereof. This Bill is now before the Council of *England*, pursuant to our Constitution of Parliament. What Alterations, Additions, and Amendments it may receive there, we know not; but I am apt to think you will have the Consideration and Modelling thereof at your Committee of Trade. We are very sensible, that the Act we have drawn up (whereof the inclosed are the Heads) is not so perfect and compleat as it may be, but this we thought a fair Beginning to so great an Attempt, and that Time must be given for a farther Progress, and carrying it higher, by additional Laws, as Occasion may require. The Woollen Manufacture of *England* was not established at that high Pitch (to which now 'tis raised) by any one Law, or any one Generation. It must be so
with

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with us in relation to our Linen ; but this, we hope, may be a fair Step towards it : *Est quoddam prodire tenus, &c.*

James Hamilton of *Tullymore*, Esq; is an indefatigable Promoter of this Design, and I may say indeed the whole Scheme is owing to his Contrivance. He is an hearty Admirer of yours, and communicated to me the inclosed Abstract purposely for your Satisfaction ; desiring me with it to give you his most humble Service, and to request of you your Thoughts concerning this Matter, by the first Leisure you can spare.

Whilst our House of Commons were framing this Bill, our Lords Justices communicated to us some Papers which they had received from the Lords Justices of *England*, laid before them by your Board. But these Papers coming in a little too late, when we had just closed the Bill, and a very little Time before our last Adjournment for three Weeks, all we did with them was to remit them again to our Lords Justices and Council, with the House's Desire, that if their Lordships should think fit to excerpt any Thing out of those Papers, and add it to our Act, whilst they had it before them, in order to be transmitted into *England*, their Lordships might do therein as they pleased, and the House would agree to any such Additions, when the Act came before us transmitted in due Form under the Seal of *England*. Whether the Lords Justices will make any such Additions out of those Papers, I cannot yet tell ; but I am sure there were many Things in those Papers that highly deserved to be put in Execution.

My Brother gives you his most humble Service, and should be very proud of the Present of your
Edu-

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Education. For tho' he has yet only two Daughters, yet he is in hopes of many Sons; and the Girls Minds require as much framing as the Boys, and by the same Rules: And that I take to be the chief Part of Education. I am

Your's most sincerely,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Oct. 28, 1697.

My most honoured Friend,

IF Men could destroy by a Quill, as they say Porcupines do, I should think your Death not very far off. But whatever Venom they mix'd with their Ink against you, I hope it is not mortal; I am sure in my Opinion 'tis not the least harmful or dangerous. Your *Reply to the Bishop of Worcester* shews how vainly the mightiest Champion spends his Darts at you, and with what Force and Strength of Reason you return them on his own Head. But notwithstanding this, I verily believe he will offer again at his weak Efforts; for he that was so fully possess'd of his own Sufficiency, as to think he could deal with your first Letter to him, will certainly never lay down the Cudgels till his Blood be about his Ears: And if he thought himself obliged in Honour to justify his first Blunders, much more will he think himself so now, when he is thrown over Head and Ears in the Mire. To pass by
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all the rest of your *Reply* (wherein you have given him many a severe Wound) I think he is no where so clearly and disgracefully foil'd, as by the Conversation between you and your Friend concerning his Notions of *Nature* and *Person*. But above all, the Consequence you draw from thence, of his being obliged to write against his own *Vindication of the Trinity*, must needs wound him to the Heart; and indeed I do not see how 'tis possible for him to avoid the Force of that Blow, by all his Art and Cunning. Yet write he will, I am sure on't, and pour forth an abundance of Words; but so he may for ever. I envy not the Place of his *Amanuensis*.

But all this while I have forgot to return you my Acknowledgments for the Favour of your Book. I am extremely obliged to you for remembering me amongst your other Friends, whenever you are pleas'd to oblige the learned World with any of your happy Thoughts. I had no sooner perus'd them, but they were snatch'd out of my Hands by my Lord Chancellor (so covetous are all Men of whatever comes from you) and he has them yet.

Amongst the other small Craft that appears against you, I met with one *J. H's State of England, in Relation to Coin and Trade*. I hear the Author's Name is *Hodges*. He is much of a Class in this Particular, with Mr. *Serjeant*, in Relation to your *Essay*, that is, both to me unintelligible.

The inclosed is a Sample of what this Place produces against you: I wish you may not say, that it resembles our Mountains and Bogs, in being barren and useless. I have ventur'd to send you my short Answer thereto; for a longer I think it did not deserve. I have not seen the
Bishop

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Bishop since this has pass'd; but we are so good Friends, that this Business will cause no Anger between us. I am

Your most obliged

bumble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Bishop of -----'s Letter to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Johnstown, Oct. 26, 1697.

S I R,

I Have met with Mr. *Lock's Reply* to the Bishop of *Worcester*, and have had Leisure to look it over here. I meddle not with the Controversy between them, but confess I am a little surpriz'd at what I find p. 95, and 96. where we have these Words: *To talk of the Certainty of Faith, seems all one to me, as to talk of the Knowledge of Believing: And, when it is brought to Certainty, Faith is destroy'd: And, bring it to Certainty, and it ceases to be Faith.* And he in Terms owns, p. 39. *With me to know and to be certain, is the same Thing; what I know, that I am certain of, and what I am certain of, that I know.* And p. 92. *Knowledge I find in my self, and I conceive in others, consists in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of the immediate Objects of the Mind in Thinking, which I call Ideas.* And, p. 38. *Certainty consists in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of two Ideas.* Now to me it seems, that according to Mr. *Locke*, I cannot be said to

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know

know any Thing except there be two Ideas in my Mind, and all the Knowledge I have must be concerning the Relation these two Ideas have to one another, and that I can be certain of nothing else ; which, in my Opinion, excludes all Certainty of Sense, and of single Ideas, all Certainty of Consciousness, such as Willing, Believing, Knowing, &c. and, as he confesses, all Certainty of Faith, and lastly, all Certainty of Remembrance of what I have formerly demonstrated, as soon as I have forgot, or do not actually think of the Demonstration. For I suppose you are well aware, that in demonstrating Mathematical Propositions, 'tis not always from actual Perception of the Agreement of Ideas, that we assume other Propositions formerly demonstrated to infer the Conclusion, but from Memory : And yet we do not think our selves less certain on that Account. If this be the Importance of Mr. L's Words, as it seems to me to be, then we are not certain of the Acts of our Mind ; we are not certain of any Thing that remains in our Minds merely by the Strength of our Memory ; and lastly, we are not certain of any Proposition, though God and Man witness the Truth of it to us : And then judge how little Certainty is left in the World, and how near this last comes to Mr. Toland's Proposition, that Authority or Testimony is only a *Means of Information, not a Ground of Persuasion* : For I must own, that I think I am only persuaded of the Truth of a Thing, in Proportion to the Certainty I have of it : And if Knowledge and Certainty be reciprocally the same, and consist in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of two Ideas ; where I do not perceive these, though God and Man, nay the whole World should testify to me

that

that they do agree or disagree, I cannot be certain of it. I must profess my self of another Opinion; and I think I am as certain there was such a Man as Mr. L. from the Testimony of you, and other Circumstances, though I perceive no Agreement or Disagreement in this Case between the two Ideas, to convince me of his Being; as that the three Angles of a straight-lin'd Triangle are equal to two right Angles, where I actually perceive the Agreement, or rather Equality: Or, that the Area of a Cyclois is equal to triple the generating Circle, of which I am certain by Memory, though I do not at present perceive the Demonstration, or any Agreement between the Ideas of the three Circles and a Cyclois, only remember that I once perceived it.

Let me farther add, that *Agreement* and *Disagreement* are Metaphorical Terms when applied to Ideas; for *Agreement* properly, I think, either signifies, *first*, a Compact between two Persons; or, *secondly*, two Things fitting one another, as the two Parts of a Tally; or, *thirdly*, the Likeness of two Things, as of a Pair of Coach-horses; or, *fourthly*, the Aptitude of two Things to support or preserve one another: So several Meats agree with the Stomach; but I do not find, that in a Proposition, the Ideas have an Agreement in any of these Senses; and I rather think the old way of expressing this Matter ought to be retained. I learned in *Smiglecius*, that when the *Species Intelligibilis* of the Predicate was the same with the *Species* of the Subject, the one might be affirmed of the other: And when the *Medius terminus* was the same with the one extreme Term in one of the Premises, and the other extreme the same with it in the other of the Premises, the one might be affirmed of the other in the Conclusion, because of the

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old Axiom. *Quæ sunt idem uni tertio, sunt idem inter se.* You may use the Metaphorical Term of Agreement here instead of Identity; but Mr. L. has told us, p. 153. That *Metaphorical Expressions (which seldom terminate in Truth) should be as much as possible avoided, when Men undertake to deliver clear and distinct Apprehensions, and exact Notions of Things.*

I do find that Mens Thoughts do not differ so much as their Words, and that most Men are of one Mind, when they come to understand one another, and have the same Views; and hence many Controversies are only Verbal. I doubt not but my Difference from Mr. L. in this Matter may be of the same Nature, and perhaps, if I had carefully read his Book of *Human Understanding*, I might perceive it; but I have neither Opportunity, Leisure, or Inclination to do so, and believe a great Part of the World to be in the same Circumstances with me; and I verily believe, that the Expressions I have noted in his *Reply*, will seem unwary to them as well as to me.

I do find he claims a Liberty that will not be allow'd him by all, p. 92. *to please himself in his Terms*, so they be used constantly *in the same and a known Sense.* I remember others have claimed the same Liberty under the Notion of making their own Dictionary; but I reckon the changing a Term, though I declare my Sense, and forewarn the Reader of it, to be a very great Injury to the World; and to introduce a new one, where there is one altogether to signify the same Thing, equally injurious; and that a Man has only this Liberty where he introduces a new Thing, that has yet no Name. And I believe you see my Reasons for being of this Opinion, and therefore
shall

shall not mention them. Let me only observe, that the want of this Caution seems to me to have brought most of Mr. L's Trouble on him. Words were indeed arbitrary Signs of Things in those that first impos'd them, but they are not to us. When we use the best Caution we can, we are apt to transgress in changing them; and when we do so out of Weakness, we must ask Pardon; but must not claim it as a Liberty, it being really a Fault. A few Minutes lying on my Hands, has given you this Trouble; and I know your Kindness to Mr. L. will not make it ungrateful to you, whilst it assures you that I am,

*Your most affectionate
humble Servant.*

I could never comprehend any Necessity for a Criterion of Certainty to the Understanding, any more than of one to the Eye, to teach it when it sees. Let the Eye be rightly disposed, and apply an Object to it, if duly apply'd, it will force it to see: And so apply an Object to an Understanding duly qualified, and if the Arguments or Object be as they ought to be, they will force the Understanding to assent, and remove all Doubts. And I can no more tell what is in the Object, or Arguments, that ascertains my Understanding, than I can tell what it is in Light, that makes me see. I must say then, the same God that order'd Light to make me see, order'd Truth, or rather certain Objects, to ascertain my Understanding; and I believe Mr. L. can hardly give any other Reason why his Agreement, &c. of Ideas should cause Certainty.

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Mr. MOLYNEUX's Answer to the BISHOP.

Dublin, Octob. 27, 1697.

My LORD,

I Am extremely obliged to your Lordship, that having a few Minutes lying on your Hands in your Retirement from this Town, you are pleased to bestow them on my Friend and me. I should have acknowledged the Favour more early, had your Servant staid for an Answer, when he delivered yours to me ; but he was gone out of my Reach before I was aware of it.

And now, my Lord, all the Answer I shall trouble your Lordship with at present, is this ; that your Lordship is much in the right on't, that had you read Mr. *Locke's Essay of Human Understanding* more carefully and throughout, you had never made the Objections you raise against him in your Letter to me ; for your Lordship would have found his fourth Book abundantly satisfactory in the Difficulties you propose, and particularly the 2d and 18th Chapters of the fourth Book, are a full Answer to your Lordship's Letter.

But your Lordship says, you have neither *Opportunity, Leisure, or Inclination* to read the *Essay*. My LORD, I would not then have *Leisure* or *Inclination* to animadvert on a Book, that I had not (if not *Inclination*) at least *Leisure* to read. This, with Submission, I cannot but say is great Partiality. If your Lordship says, your Letter relates to his *Reply* to the Bishop of *Worcester* ; neither will this do, in my humble Opinion ; seeing your Lordship seems to surmise (as
indeed

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indeed you guess rightly) that the *Essay* might have set you right in this Matter. I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Dec. 18, 1697.

Dear SIR,

TIS now above three Months since I heard from you, your last being of *Sept. 11.* You will therefore excuse my Impatience, if I can forbear no longer, and send this merely to know how you do. 'Tis an anguishing Thought to me, that you should be subject to the common Frailties and Fate of Mankind; but it would be some Alleviation to my Trouble, that, if you are ill, I should know the worst of it. This has so wholly taken up my Mind at present, that I have no Inclination to write one Word more to you in this; but again, to repeat my Request to you, that you would let me know how you are; for till I know this, I am dissatisfied, I am extremely uneasy; but for ever shall be

Your most affectionate Admirer,

and devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

*Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.**Oates, 10 Jan. 169⁷.**Dear S I R,*

YOUR gentle and kind Reproof of my Silence, has greater Marks of true Friendship in it, than can be express'd in the most elaborate Professions, or be sufficiently acknowledged by a Man, who has not the Opportunity nor Ability to make those Returns he would. Though I have had less Health, and more Business since I writ to you last than ever I had for so long together in my Life; yet neither the one nor the other had kept me so long a Truant, had not the Concurrence of other Causes drill'd me on from Day to Day, in a Neglect of what I frequently purpos'd, and always thought my self obliged to do. Perhaps the Listlessness my Indisposition constantly kept me in, made me too easily hearken to such Excuses; but the Expectation of hearing every Day from Mons. *Le Clerc*, that I might send you his Answer, and the Thoughts that I should be able to send your Brother an Account, that his curious Treatise concerning the Chafers in *Ireland* was printed, were at least the Pretences that serv'd to humour my Laziness. Business kept me in Town longer than was convenient for my Health: All the Day from my rising was commonly spent in that, and when I came home at Night, my Shortness of Breath, and panting for want of it, made me ordinarily so uneasy, that I had no Heart to do any Thing; so that the usual Diversion of my vacant Hours forsook me, and reading it self was a Burden to me. In this Estate I linger'd along
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in Town to *December*, till I betook my self to my wonted Refuge, in the more favourable Air and Retirement of this Place. That gave me presently Relief against the constant Oppression of my Lungs, whilst I sit still: But I find such a Weakness of them still remain, that if I stir ever so little, I am immediately out of Breath, and the very dressing or undressing me is a Labour that I am fain to rest after to recover my Breath; and I have not been once out of my House since I came last hither. I wish nevertheless that you were here with me to see how well I am: For you would find, that, sitting by the Fire's-Side, I could bear my Part in discoursing, laughing, and being merry with you, as well as ever I could in my Life. If you were here (and if Wishes of more than one could bring you, you would be here to Day) you would find three or four in the Parlour after Dinner, who you would say, pass'd their Afternoons as agreeably and as jocundly as any People you have this good while met with. Do not therefore figure to your self, that I am languishing away my last Hours under an unsociable Despondency and the Weight of my Infirmary. 'Tis true, I do not count upon Years of Life to come, but I thank God I have not many uneasy Hours here in the four and twenty; and if I can have the Wit to keep my self out of the stifling Air of *London*, I see no Reason, but, by the Grace of God, I may get over this Winter, and that terrible Enemy of mine may use me no worse than the last did, which as severe, and as long as it was, let me yet see another Summer.

What you say to me in yours of the 4th of *October*, concerning the Bishop of *W-----*, you will, I believe, be confirmed in, if his *Answer to*
my

my Second Letter, of which I shall say nothing to you yet, be got to you.

Mr. *Cofte* is now in the House with me here, and is Tutor to my Lady *Masbam's* Son. I need not, I think, answer your Questions about his Skill in Mathematicks and Natural History : I think it is not much ; but he is an ingenious Man, and we like him very well for our Purpose ; and I have a particular Obligation to you, for the Reason why you enquired concerning him.

I come now to yours of the 28th of *October*, wherein you have found by this Time, that you prophesied right concerning the Bishop of *W-----*, and if you can remember what you said therein, concerning Abundance of Words, you will not, I suppose, forbear smiling, when you read the first Leaf of his last *Answer*.

If there be not an Evidence of Sense and Truth, which is apt and fitted to prevail on every human Understanding, as far as it is open and unprejudiced ; there is at least a Harmony of Understandings in some Men, to whom Sense and Nonsense, Truth and Falshood, appears equally in the respective Discourses they meet with. This I find perfectly so between you and me, and it serves me to no small Purpose to keep me in Countenance, when I see a Man disinterested as you are, a Lover of Truth as I know you to be, and one that has Clearness and Coherence enough of Thought to make long Mathematical, *i. e.* sure Deductions, pronounce of *J. H.* and *J. S's* Books, that they are unintelligible to you ; I do not presently condemn my self of Pride, Prejudice, or a perfect Want of Understanding, for laying aside those Authors, because I can find neither Sense nor Coherence in them. If I could think

think that Discourses and Arguments to the Understanding, were like the several Sorts of Cates to different Palates and Stomachs, some nauseous and destructive to one, which are pleasant and restorative to another; I should no more think of Books and Study, and should think my Time better employ'd at Push-pin than in Reading or Writing. But I am convinced of the contrary: I know there is Truth opposite to Falshood, that it may be found if People will, and is worth the seeking, and is not only the most valuable, but the pleasantest Thing in the World. And therefore I am no more troubled and disturbed with all the Dust that is raised against it, than I should be to see from the Top of an high Steeple, where I had clear Air and Sun-shine, a Company of great Boys or little Boys (for 'tis all one) throw up Dust in the Air which reach'd not me, but fell down in their own Eyes.

Your Answer to your Friend the Bishop was certainly a very fit and full one to what he had said, and I am obliged to you for it; but he nevertheless thought his Objections so good, that I imagine he communicated them to my Antagonist; for you will find the very same in his Answer, and almost in the same Words. But they will receive an Answer at large in due Time.

It will not be at all necessary to say any Thing to you concerning the Linen Bill, which made so great a Part of your Letter of *October* 4. and was the whole Business of that of *October* 16. You know (I believe) as well as I what became of that Bill. Pray return my humble Thanks to Mr. *Hamilton*, for his kind Expressions concerning me, and for the Favour he did me in thinking me any ways able to serve his Country in that Matter. I am so concern'd for it, and zealous in
it,

it, that I desire you to assure him, and to believe your self, that I will neglect no Pains or Interest of mine to promote it as far as I am able ; and I think it a Shame, that whilst *Ireland* is so capable to produce Flax and Hemp, and able to nourish the Poor at so cheap a Rate, and consequently to have their Labour upon so easy Terms, that so much Money should go yearly out of the King's Dominions, to enrich Foreigners, for those Materials, and the Manufactures made out of them, when his People of *Ireland*, by the Advantage of their Soil, Situation, and Plenty, might have every Penny of it, if that Business were but once put into a right Way. I perceive by one of your Letters, that you have seen the Proposals for an Act sent from hence. I would be very glad that you and Mr. *Hamilton*, or any other Man, whom you knew able, and a disinterested well-wisher of his Country, would consider them together, and tell me whether you think that Project will do, or wherein it is either impracticable, or will fail, and what may be added or altered in it to make it effectual to that End. I know, to a Man, a Stranger to your Country, as I am, many Things may be over-seen, which by Reason of the Circumstances of the Place, or State of the People, may in Practice have real Difficulties. If there be any such in regard of that Project, you will do me a Favour to inform me of them. The short is, I mightily have it upon my Heart to get the Linen Manufacture established in a flourishing Way in your Country. I am sufficiently sensible of the Advantages it will be to you, and shall be doubly rejoiced in the Success of it, if I should be so happy that you and I could be instrumental in it, and have the chief Hand in forming any Thing that might
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conduce to it. Imploy your Thoughts therefore I beseech you about it, and be assured, what Help I can give to it here shall be as readily and as carefully employ'd, as if you and I alone were to reap all the Profit of it.

I have not yet heard a Word from *Monf. Le Clerc*, in Answer to my Enquiries, and the Questions you ask'd, or else you had heard sooner from me. I must beg you to return my Acknowledgments to *Mr. Moleſworth* in the civilest Language you can find, for the great Compliment you sent me from him. If he could see my Confusion as often as I read that Part of your Letter, that would express my Sense of it better than any Words I am Master of. I can only say that I am his most humble Servant, and I have been not a little troubled, that I could not meet with the Opportunities I sought to improve the Advantages I propos'd to my self, in an Acquaintance with so ingenious and extraordinary a Man as he is.

I read your Brother's Treatise, which he did me the Honour to put into my Hands, with great Pleasure, and thought it so unreasonable to rob the Publick of so grateful a Present by any Delay of mine, that I forthwith put it into *Dr. Sloane's* Hand to be published, and I expected to have seen it in print long e'er this Time. What has retarded it I have not yet heard from *Dr. Sloane*, who has not writ to me since I came into the Country: But I make no Doubt but he takes Care of so curious a Piece, and the World will have it speedily. I must depend on you, not only for excusing my Silence to your self, but I must be obliged to you to excuse me to your Brother for not having written to him my self to thank him for the Favour he did me. I hope
e'er

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e'er long to find an Opportunity to testify my Respects to him more in Form, which he would find I have in Reality for him, if any Occasion of that kind should come in my Way. In the mean time I believe, if he saw the Length of this Letter, he would think it enough for one of a Family to be persecuted by so voluminous a Scribbler, and should be glad that I spared him. I am both his, and,

Dear S I R,

Your most affectionate

and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, March 15, 1698.

Dear S I R,

IN the midst of my Trouble for your long Silence, soon after I had writ to two or three Friends to enquire after your Health, I was happily reliev'd by yours of last *January* the 10th, from *Oates*. I am heartily concern'd that you pass'd over the last Winter with so much Indisposition; but I rejoice with you that you have escap'd it, and hope you will yet pass over many more. I could make to you great Complaints likewise of my own late Illness; but they are all drown'd in this One, that I am hinder'd for a while in seeking a Remedy for them. I fully propos'd to be at the *Bath* this Spring early; but I am disappointed at present, and cannot stir from

from hence till my Lord Chancellor *Metbwin* return to this Kingdom. It has pleased the young Lord *Woodstock*, by Directions from his Majesty, to chuse my Lord Chancellor *Metbwin*, Mr. *Van Homrigh*, present Lord Mayor of this City, and my self, to be his Guardians, and Managers of his Affairs in this Kingdom. Nothing can be done without two of us; so I am ty'd by the Leg. Were it only in my Health that I am disappointed, I could the easier bear it; but I am delay'd from embracing my dear Friend, which is most grievous of all. Yet I hope it will be so but for a Time; for if my Lord Chancellor comes over in any convenient Season, I will certainly get loose. But this I cannot hope for, till the Parliament in *England* rises. I should be glad to know from you when that is expected, for indeed they bear very hard upon us in *Ireland*. How justly they can bind us without our *Consent* and *Representatives*, I leave the *Author* of the *two Treatises of Government* to consider. But of this I shall trouble you farther another Time, for you will hear more hereafter.

I have seen the Bishop of *Worcester's Answer* to your *second Letter*. 'Tis of a Piece with the rest, and you know my Thoughts of them already. I begin to be almost of old *Hobbs's* Opinion, That were it Mens Interest, they would question the Truth of *Eutlid's Elements*, as now they contest almost as full Evidences.

I am very glad Monsieur *Casse* is so well settled as you tell me: I design'd fully to invite him over hither; and if you know any other ingenious *Frenchman* of that Sort, or any such hereafter comes to your Knowledge, I should be very glad you would give me Intimation thereof.

I had certainly answer'd that Part of your Letter relating to the Linen Manufacture, but that I daily expected to do it more effectually by Mr. *Hamilton* himself, who gave me Hopes of his going into *England*, and was resolv'd personally to wait on you about it. He is Master of the whole Mystery (and that I cannot pretend to be) and would have discours'd you most satisfactorily concerning it. I promised him a Letter to you whenever he goes over, which will now be very speedily; and then I doubt not but you will concert Matters together much for the Good of this poor Kingdom.

My Brother gives you his most humble Service, and thanks you for the Care you took about his Discourse concerning *Chafers*. We hear from Dr. *Sloane* that it is printed. I am

Your most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX,

Oates, 6 April, 1698.

Dear S I R,

THERE is none of the Letters that ever I received from you gave me so much Trouble as your last of *March 15*. I was told that you resolv'd to come into *England* early in the Spring, and lived in the Hopes of it more than you can imagine. I do not mean that I had greater Hopes of it than you can imagine; but it enliven'd me, and contributed to the Support of my Spirits more than you can think. But your
Letter

Letter has quite dejected me again. The Thing I above all Things long for, is to see, and embrace, and have some Discourse with you before I go out of this World. I meet with so few capable of Truth, or worthy of a free Conversation, such as becomes Lovers of Truth, that you cannot think it strange if I wish for some Time with you, for the exposing, sifting, and rectifying of my Thoughts. If they have gone any thing farther in the Discovery of Truth than what I have already published, it must be by your Encouragement that I must go on to finish some Things that I have already begun; and with you I hoped to discourse my other yet crude and imperfect Thoughts, in which, if there were any Thing useful to Mankind, if they were opened and deposited with you, I know them safe lodg'd for the Advantage of Truth some time or other: For I am in doubt, whether it be fit for me to trouble the Press with any new Matter; or if I did, I look on my Life as so near worn out, that it would be Folly to hope to finish any thing of Moment in the small Remainder of it. I hop'd therefore, as I said, to have seen you, and unravel'd to you that which lying in the Lump unexplicated in my Mind, I scarce yet know what it is my self; for I have often had Experience that a Man cannot well judge of his own Notions, till either by setting them down in Paper, or in discoursing them to a Friend, he has drawn them out, and as it were spread them fairly before himself. As for Writing, my ill Health gives me little Heart or Opportunity for it; and of seeing you, I begin now to despair: And that which very much adds to my Affliction in the Case, is, that you neglect your own Health on Considerations, I am sure, that are not worth
O your

your Health ; for nothing, if Expectations were Certainties, can be worth it. I see no likelihood of the Parliament's rising yet this good while ; and when they are up, who knows whether the Man you expect to relieve you, will come to you presently, or at all ? You must therefore lay by that Business for a while which detains you, or get some other Body into it, if you will take that Care of your Health this Summer which you designed, and it seems to require : And if you defer it till the next, who knows but your Care of it may then come too late ? There is nothing that we are such Spendthrifts of, as of Health ; we spare every thing sooner than that, though whatever we sacrifice it to is worth nothing without it. Pardon me the Liberty I take with you : You have given me an Interest in you ; and it is a Thing of too much Value to me, to look coldly on, whilst you are running into any Inconvenience or Danger, and say nothing. If that could be any Spur to you to hasten your Journey hither, I would tell you I have an *Answer* ready for the Press, which I should be glad you should see first. It is too long : The Plenty of Matter of all Sorts, which the Gentleman affords me, is the Cause of its too great Length, though I have passed by many Things worthy of Remarks ; but what may be spared of what there is, I would be glad should be blotted out by your Hand. But this between us.

Amongst other Things I would be glad to talk with you about, before I die, is that which you suggest at the bottom of the first Page of your Letter. I am mightily concern'd for the Place meant in the Question you say you will ask the Author of the Treatise you mention, and wish extremely well to it ; and would be very glad to
be

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be inform'd by you what would be best for it, and debate with you the Ways to compose it. But this cannot be done by Letters; the Subject is of too great Extent, the Views too large, and the Particulars too many to be so managed. Come therefore your self, and come as well prepar'd in that Matter as you can. But if you talk with others on that Point there, mention not me to any body on that Subject; only let you and I try what Good we can do for those whom we wish well to. Great Things have sometimes been brought about from small Beginnings well laid together.

Pray present my most humble Service to your Brother: I should be glad of an Opportunity to do him some Service. That which he thanks me for, in my Care about his Discourse concerning the *Chafers*, was a Service to the Publick, and he owes me no Thanks for it. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your faithful,

and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, April 19, 1698.

Most Honour'd dear S I R,

I Have formerly had Thoughts of coming into England, as I have told you, on occasion of my Health. But since the Receipt of yours of April 6, which came to my Hands but this

O 2

Morning,

Morning, that Consideration weighs but little with me. The Desire of seeing and conversing with you, has drowned all other Expectations from my Journey; and now I am resolved to accomplish it, let what will come on't. Your Persuasions and Arguments, I think, have something in them of Incantation: I am sure their Charms are so powerful on me on all Occasions, I can never resist them. I shall therefore embrace you, God willing, as soon as ever the Parliament of *England* rises. I fix this Period now, not so much in Expectation of our Chancellor's Arrival, as on another Account. My dear Friend must therefore know, that the Consideration of what I mention'd in my last, from the incomparable Author of the *Treatise*, &c. has moved me to put Pen to Paper, and commit some Thoughts of mine on that Subject to the Press in a small Octavo, intitled, *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*. This you'll say is a nice Subject; but I think I have treated it with that Caution and Submission, that it cannot justly give any Offence; insomuch that I scruple not to put my Name to it, and, by Advice of some good Friends here, have presum'd to dedicate it to His Majesty. I have order'd some of them to Mr. *Churchill*, to be presented to you, and some of your Friends; and they are now upon the Road towards you. I have been very free in giving you my Thoughts on your Pieces; I should be extremely obliged to you for the like Freedom on your side upon mine. I cannot pretend this to be an accomplish'd Performance; it was done in Haste, and intended to overtake the Proceedings at *Westminster*; but it comes too late for that: What Effect it may possibly have in Time to come, God and the wise Council

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Council of *England* only knows; but were it again under my Hands, I could considerably amend and add to it. But till I either see how the Parliament at *Westminster* is pleased to take it, or till I see them risen, I do not think it adviseable for me to go on t'other side the Water. Though I am not apprehensive of any Mischief from them, yet God only knows what Resentments captious Men may take on such Occasions.

My Brother gives you his most respectful Service. He has now ready a Discourse on our *Giant's Causeway*, which indeed is a stupendous natural Rarity: He has address'd it to Dr. *Lifter*; but you will soon see it in the *Transactions*.

Mr. *Burridge* goes on now with some Speed: I had lately an Occasion of writing to Mr. *Churchill*, and I gave him an Account of his Progress. I hope the whole will be finished soon after Midsummer; and indeed, in my Opinion, he performs it incomparably. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most affectionate

bumble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

London, 9 July, 1698.

Dear S I R,

I AM just come to *London*, where your former Promise, and what Mr. *Churchill* since tells me, makes me hope to see you speedily.

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I long mightily to welcome you hither, and do remit, to that happy Time, abundance that I have to say to you. For I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most affectionate

bumble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Sept. 20, 1698.

Honour'd dear S-I-R,

I Arrived here safely the 15th Instant; and now that the Ruffling and Fatigue of my Journey is a little over, I sit down to a Task, which I must confess is the hardest I was ever under in my Life; I mean, expressing my Thanks to you suitable to the Favours I received from you, and suitable to the inward Sense I have of them in my Mind. Were it possible for me to do either, I should in some measure be satisfied; but my Inability of paying my Debts, makes me ashamed to appear before my Creditor. However, thus much with the strictest Sincerity I will venture to assert to you, That I cannot recollect, through the whole Course of my Life, such signal Instances of real Friendship, as when I had the Happiness of your Company for five Weeks together in London. 'Tis with the greatest Satisfaction imaginable that I recollect what then passed between us, and I reckon it the happiest Scene of my whole Life. That Part thereof especially, which I pass'd at

Oates,

Oates, has made such an agreeable Impression on my Mind, that nothing can be more pleasing. To all in that excellent Family, I beseech you, give my most humble Respects. 'Tis my Duty to make my Acknowledgments there in a particular Letter; but I beg of you to make my Excuse for omitting it at this Time, because I am a little press'd by some Business that is thrown upon me since my Arrival. To which also you are obliged for not being troubled at present with a more tedious Letter from,

S I R,

Your most obliged,

and entirely affectionate

Friend and Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

London, Sept. 29, 1698.

Dear S I R,

YOurs of the 20th has now discharged me from my daily Imployment of looking upon the Weathercock, and hearkening how loud the Wind blow'd. Though I do not like this Distance, and such a Ditch betwixt us, yet I am glad to hear that you are safe and sound on t'other side the Water. But pray you speak not in so magnificent and courtly a Style of what you received from me here. I lived with you, and

treated you as my Friend, and therefore used no Ceremony, nor can receive any Thanks but what I owe you doubly, both for your Company, and the Pains you were at to bestow that Happiness on me. If you keep your Word, and do me the same Kindness again next Year, I shall have reason to think you value me more than you say, though you say more than I can with Modesty read.

I find you were beset with Business when you writ your Letter to me, and do not wonder at it; but yet, for all that, I cannot forgive your Silence concerning your Health, and your Son. My Service to him, your Brother, and Mr. *Burridge*; and do me the Justice to believe that I am, with a perfect Affection,

Dear S I R,

Your most humble,

and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. BURRIDGE.

Oates, Octob. 27, 1698.

S I R,

YOU guessed not amiss, when you said in the beginning of yours of the 13th Instant, that you gave me the Trouble of a Letter; for I have received few Letters in my Life, the Contents whereof have so much troubled and afflicted me, as that of yours. I parted with my excellent Friend, when he went from *England*, with all the

the Hopes and Promises to my self of seeing him again, and enjoying him longer in the next Spring. This was a Satisfaction that helped me to bear our Separation; and the short Taste I had of him here, in this our first Interview, I hoped would be made up in a longer Conversation, which he promised me the next Time: But it has served only to give me a greater Sense of my Loss, in an eternal Farewel in this World. Your earlier Acquaintance may have given you a longer Knowledge of his Virtue and excellent Endowments; a fuller Sight, or greater Esteem of them, you could not have than I. His Worth and his Friendship to me, made him an inestimable Treasure; which I must regret the Loss of, the little Remainder of my Life, without any Hopes of repairing it any Way. I should be glad, if what I owed the Father, could enable me to do any Service to his Son. He deserves it for his own Sake (his Father has more than once talked to me of him) as well as for his Father's. I desire you therefore to assure those who have the Care of him, that if there be any Thing, wherein I at this Distance may be any way serviceable to young Mr. Molyneux, they cannot do me a greater Pleasure than to give me the Opportunity to shew that my Friendship died not with him.

Pray give my most humble Service to Dr. Molyneux, and to his Nephew. I am,

S I R,

Your most faithful

and humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE,

Dr.

*Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.**Dublin, Aug. 27, 1692.**S I R,*

I'M very sensible of your great Civility, in remembering me upon so short an Acquaintance as I had with you in *Holland* so long time since; and I assure you, without any Compliment, I reckon it amongst the most fortunate Accidents of my Life my so luckily falling into your Conversation, which was so candid, diverting and instructive, that I still reap the Benefit and Satisfaction of it. Some Years after I left you in *Holland*, upon my Return for *England*, I contracted no small Intimacy with Dr. *Sydenham*, on the Account of having been known to you his much esteemed Friend; and I found him so accurate an Observer of Diseases, so thoroughly skill'd in all useful Knowledge of his Profession, and withal so communicative, that his Acquaintance was a very great Advantage to me: And all this I chiefly owe to you, Sir, besides the Information of many useful Truths, and a great deal of very pleasing Entertainment I have met with, in the Perusal of your lately publish'd Writings: So that on many Accounts I must needs say there are very few Men in the World, to whom I can with the like Sincerity profess my self to be, as I am,

*Dear S I R,**Your most real Friend, and**very humble and obliged Servant,**THO. MOLYNEUX,**Mr.*

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, Nov. 1, 1692.

S I R,

THE Indisposition of my Health, which drove me out of *London*, and keeps me still in the Country, must be an Excuse for my so long Silence. The very great Civility you express to me in your Letter, makes me hope your Pardon for the Slowness of my Answer, whereby I hope you will not measure the Esteem and Respect I have for you. That your own distinguishing Merit, amongst the rest of my Countrymen I met with at *Leyden*, has so settled in me, that before the Occasion your Brother's Favour lately gave me to inquire after you, I often remember'd you; and 'twas not without Regret I consider'd you at a Distance, that allow'd me not the Hopes of renewing and improving my Acquaintance with you. There being nothing of Value so much as ingenious, knowing Men, think it not strange that I laid hold on the first Opportunity, to bring my self again into your Thoughts. You must take it as an Exercise of your Goodness, drawn on you by your own Merit: For whatever Satisfaction I gain to my self in having recover'd you again, I can propose no Advantage to you, in the Offer of a very useless and infirm Acquaintance, who can only boast that he very much esteems you.

That which I always thought of Dr. *Sydenham* living, I find the World allows him now he is dead, and that he deserved all that you say of him. I hope the Age has many who will follow his Example, and by the way of accurate practical
Observ-

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Observation, as he has so happily begun, enlarge the History of Diseases, and improve the Art of Physick; and not, by speculative Hypotheses, fill the World with useles, though pleasing Visions. Something of this kind permit me to promise my self one Day from your judicious Pen. I know nothing that has so great an Encouragement from the Good of Mankind as this.

I beg you to present my most humble Service to your Brother, whom I forbear now to interrupt, in the midst of his Parliamentary Affairs, whereof I know a great Part must fall to his Share; with my Thanks for the Favour of his of the 15th of *October*, which lately found me out safe here. Let him know that I am exceedingly sensible of the Obligation, and shall at large make my Acknowledgments to him as soon as good Manners will allow it. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Dec. 20, 1692.

S I R,

I'M much concerned to hear you have your Health no better; and, on this Occasion, cannot but deplore the great Losses the intellectual World, in all Ages, has suffer'd by the strongest

strongest and soundest Minds possessing the most infirm and sickly Bodies. Certainly there must be some very powerful Cause for this in Nature, or else we could not have so many Instances, where the Knife cuts the Sheath, as the *French* materially expresses it: And if so, this must be reckon'd among the many other inseparable Miseries that attend human Affairs.

I could wish the Physicians Art were so powerful and perfect, as in some measure to prevent so great an Evil; but we find where once Nature, or the *Œconomia Animalis* of the Body is so depraved as not to co-operate with Medicine, all Remedies, and the Courses of them, prove wholly ineffectual, or to very little Purpose. But still the more imperfect Physick is, so much the more is owing to those who the least improve so difficult a Province, which certainly has been considerably advanced by some late *English* Authors. And that puts me in mind to desire of you your Thoughts, or what other learned Physicians you converse with say, concerning Dr. *Morton*, and his late *Exercitations on Fevers*. As for his *General Theory* of them, I esteem it, as all others of this kind, a sort of mere waking Dream, that Men are strangely apt to fall into, when they think long of a Subject, beginning quite at the wrong End; for by framing such Conceits in their Fancies, they vainly think to give their Understandings Light, whilst the Things themselves are still, and perhaps ever must remain, in Darkness.

In his first Exercitation that treats of *Agues*, I don't find he has said any thing very material, or worth Notice, that the World did not sufficiently know before; unless it were some Histories of the irregular Shapes and Symptoms this
Di-

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Distemper appears under, which I think may be very instructive to the Physician, and of great Ease and Advantage to the Sick.

But his practical Remarks in his second Exercitation about *continuing and remitting Fevers*, if they be judiciously founded upon many and steady Observations, so that they may safely pass into a Rule, must certainly be of great Moment in directing the Management and Cure of Fevers. I confess my Experience in this Distemper, as yet, falls something too short for to determine positively whether all his Observations be real and well-grounded; but, as far as I can judge at present, several of them do hold good.

I remember to have heard Dr. *Morton* was once a *Presbyterian* Preacher: And though he were, this does not make him a Jot the less capable in above twenty Years Practice to have carefully observed the Accidents that naturally occur in the Progress of a Disease; and if he be but a true and judicious Register, 'tis all I desire from him.

You see I have taken great Freedom in giving a Character according to my Apprehensions of this Author, but 'tis only to encourage you to use the same Liberty; for if at your Leisure you would let me know your own Thoughts, or what other candid Men say concerning him, and his Methods of Cure, or any other useful Tract that comes abroad, you will extremely oblige,

S I R,

Your very obedient

humble Servant,

T. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, Jan. 20, 169 $\frac{2}{3}$.

S I R,

I Must acknowledge the Care you take of my Health, in a Way wherein you so kindly apply to my Mind; and if I could persuade my self that my weak Constitution was owing to that Strength of Mind you ascribe to me, or accompanied with it, I should find therein, if not a Remedy, yet a great Relief against the Infirmities of my Body. However, I am not the less obliged to you for so friendly an Application; and if the Cordial you prescribe be not to be had (for I know none equal to a judicious and capacious Mind) your Kindness is not to be blamed, who I am confident wish me that Satisfaction, or any thing else that could contribute to my Health.

The Doctor, concerning whom you enquire of me, had, I remember, when I liv'd in Town, and convers'd among the Physicians there, a good Reputation amongst those of his own Faculty. I can say nothing of his late Book of *Fevers*, having not read it my self, nor heard it spoke of by others: But I perfectly agree with you concerning general Theories, that they are for the most part but a sort of waking Dreams, with which, when Men have warm'd their own Heads, they pass into unquestionable Truths, and then the ignorant World must be set right by them: Though this be, as you rightly observe, beginning

ning at the wrong End, when Men lay the Foundation in their own Fancies, and then endeavour to suit the *Phænomena* of Diseases, and the Cure of them, to those Fancies. I wonder, that after the Pattern Dr. *Sydenham* has set them of a better Way, Men should return again to that Romance Way of Physick. But I see it is easier and more natural for Men to build Castles in the Air of their own, than to survey well those that are to be found standing. Nicely to observe the History of Diseases, in all their Changes and Circumstances, is a Work of Time, Accurateness, Attention and Judgment; and wherein if Men, through Prepossession or Osecitancy, mistake, they may be convinced of their Error by unerring Nature and Matter of Fact, which leaves less room for the Subtlety and Dispute of Words, which serves very much instead of Knowledge in the learned World, where methinks Wit and Invention has much the Preference to Truth. Upon such Grounds as are the establish'd History of Diseases, *Hypotheses* might with less Danger be erected, which I think are so far useful, as they serve as an Art of Memory to direct the Physician in particular Cases, but not to be rely'd on as Foundations of Reasoning, or Verities to be contended for; they being, I think I may say of all of them, Suppositions taken up *gratis*, and will so remain, till we can discover how the natural Functions of the Body are performed, and by what Alteration of the Humours or Defects in the Parts they are hinder'd or disorder'd. To which purpose I fear the *Galenists* four Humours, or the Chymists *Sal*, *Sulphur*, and *Mercury*, or the late prevailing Invention of *Acid* and *Alkali*, or whatever hereafter shall be substituted

to

to these with new Applause, will upon Examination be found to be but so many learned empty Sounds, with no precise, determinate Signification. What we know of the Works of Nature, especially in the Constitution of Health, and the Operations of our own Bodies, is only by the sensible Effects, but not by any Certainty we can have of the Tools she uses, or the Ways she works by. So that there is nothing left for a Physician to do, but to observe well, and so by Analogy argue the like Cases, and thence make to himself Rules of Practice : And he that is this way most sagacious, will, I imagine, make the best Physician, though he should entertain distinct Hypotheses concerning distinct Species of Diseases, subservient to this End, that were inconsistent one with another, they being made use of in those several Sorts of Diseases, but as distinct Arts of Memory in those Cases. And I the rather say this, that they might be rely'd on only as artificial Helps to a Physician, and not as Philosophical Truths to a Naturalist. But, Sir, I run too far, and must beg your Pardon for talking so freely on a Subject you understand so much better than I do. I hoped the Way of treating of Diseases, which with so much Approbation Dr. Sydenham had introduced into the World, would have beaten the other out, and turned Men from Visions and Wrangling to Observation, and endeavouring after settled Practices in more Diseases, such as I think he has given us in some. If my Zeal for the saving Mens Lives, and preserving their Health (which is infinitely to be prefer'd to any Speculations ever so fine in Physick) has carried me too far, you will excuse it in one who wishes well to the Practice of Physick, though he meddles not with it. I wish you,

P. and

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and your Brother, and all yours, a very happy
New-Year, and am,

S I R,

*Your most humble and
faithful Servant,*

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Nov. 4, 1693.

S I R,

FOR a while I defer'd making any Return for the Favour of your last Letter, on the Account I understood by one of yours to my Brother, that I was suddenly to expect another Obligation from you, by the Receipt of your Treatise of *Education*, which Yesterday first came to my Hands; and now I return you my hearty Thanks for both your Kindnesses together, of which should I express the real Thoughts I have, I should seem to run either into extravagant Compliment, or gross Flattery: But thus much I must needs say, that as your Letter certainly contains in short, the only true Method for the prosecuting the curing Part of the Practice of Physick, and the sure Way of improving it; a Matter of the chiefest Good in relation to Mens Bodies: So your Book of *Education* lays down such Rules for the breeding of Youth, as if followed, must necessarily prove of the greatest Advantage to the better Part of Man, the Mind; by insensibly disposing it to an habitual Exercise of what is
vir-

virtuous and laudable, and the Acquisition of all such Knowledge as is necessary for one's own Good, or that of others whom we are to converse with. Whence I can't but think, had those of our own Countries but a thorough Persuasion, and a right Sense of the great Benefit that redounds from a careful Education, so as universally to put it in Practice, without Question we should soon become a Nation as remarkably different from the rest of the World for the inward Endowments of our Minds, and the Rectitude of our Manners, as the Negroes are from the rest of Mankind for their outward Shape and Colour of Body. But this I fear is a Happiness only to be wished for; however, he that makes it his Endeavour to promote so great a Good, by shewing the certain Way to it, if they will follow him, justly deserves the high Esteem of all that know how to value a truly Publick Spirit.

I hope, Sir, you have your Health better, and that we may suddenly have Abroad your *Essay of Human Understanding*, with those farther Additions and Alterations you have some while since designed for the Press: I'm confident 'tis impatiently expected by all that are acquainted with your Writings, and that peculiar clear Manner of delivering Truth you are so much Master of, but by none more than,

S I R,

Your most faithful

humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

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Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Oct. 25, 1697.

S I R,

I Should oftner make Acknowledgments to you for your Favours, and expresse the great Esteem I bear you, but that this barren Place affords little else to say; and this I can't think Reason enough to trouble one so busy and usefully engaged as you always are. Yet I would not omit thanking you, by this worthy Gentleman Mr. *Berrisford*, your Acquaintance, for a Present of a Book, I understand by my Brother you designed for me, though I was so unlucky as to miss of it; and also communicate to you the inclosed Letter, which the Bishop of *Clogher* was pleased (perhaps out of his too partial Friendship) to tell me deserved to be made publick, and desired me accordingly to transmit it to Dr. *Sloane*: But this I would not do, unless it have your Approbation also; so that 'tis wholly at your Disposal to do with it as you please, as is likewise,

S I R,

Your very affectionate Friend,

and humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.



Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 27 Oct. 1698.

S I R,

DEATH has with a violent Hand hastily snatch'd from you a dear Brother. I doubt not but on this Occasion you need all the Consolation can be given to one unexpectedly bereft of so worthy and near a Relation. Whatever Inclination I may have to alleviate your Sorrow, I bear too great a Share in the Loss, and am too sensibly touch'd with it my self, to be in a Condition to discourse you on this Subject, or do any Thing but mingle my Tears with yours. I have lost in your Brother, not only an ingenious and learned Acquaintance, that all the World esteemed; but an intimate and sincere Friend, whom I truly loved, and by whom I was truly loved: And what a Loss that is, those only can be sensible who know how valuable and how scarce a true Friend is, and how far to be preferred to all other Sorts of Treasure. He has left a Son who I know was dear to him, and deserved to be so as much as was possible for one of his Age. I cannot think my self wholly incapacitated from paying some of the Affection and Service was due from me to my dear Friend, as long as he has a Child or a Brother in the World. If therefore there be any Thing at this Distance wherein I in my little Sphere may be able to serve your Nephew or you, I beg you by the Memory of our deceased Friend to let me know it, that you may see, that one who loved him so

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well cannot but be tenderly concerned for his Son,
nor be otherwise than I am,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and most affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Nov. 26, 1698.

S I R,

AS you have a true Sense of every Thing,
so you were very much in the right, when
you tell me in the Letter you favour'd me with
of the 27th of last Month, that I needed all the
Consolation could be given one that had lost so
unexpectedly a dear and only Brother. His Death
indeed has been a severe Affliction to me; and
though I have you, and many more, that bear
a great Share with me in my Sorrow; yet this
does no way alleviate it, but makes it fall the
heavier upon me; for it doubles my Grief to
think what an unspeakable Loss he must be to so
near a Relation, that is so much lamented by those
that were only acquainted with him. I could not
believe that Mortality could have made so deep
an Impression on me, whose Profession leads into so
thorough a Familiarity with it; but I find a pas-
sionate Affection surmounts all this, and the *te-
cum obeam lubens*, though it was the Expression
of a Poet, yet I am sensible was a very natural
one where we love extremely, and the *Indians*
prove

prove it no less in Fact. Could any outward Circumstance of his Life have increased that brotherly Affection I had for him, it must have been that he had so great a Part in your Friendship, who must be allowed to have a nice Judgment in discerning the true Characters and Worth of Men. He frequently in his Life-time has expressed to me with great Complacency of Mind, how happy he thought himself in your Acquaintance, and he spoke of you several Times, during his short Sickness, with great Respect. With his own Hand he has writ this Clause in his Will: *I give and bequeath to my excellent Friend John Locke, Esq; Author of the Essay concerning Human Understanding, the Sum of five Pounds to buy him a Ring, in Memory of the Value and Esteem I had for him.* This I shall take Care to send you in a Bill by Mr. Churchill's Hands, when he states the Account as it stands between him and my Brother. The only Child he has left behind him, is under my Care and Management. I shall endeavour to discharge this Trust, with all the Regard to my Brother's Memory, and the Advantage of his Child, I can: But it grieves me to think, that I must surely fall very much short of that extraordinary Application and Prudence his Father would have shewn in his Education; for he made it the chiefest, and indeed the only Business of his Life. I have made his little Son as sensible as his tender Age would allow, how much he is obliged to you, his Father's Friend, for your earnest Desire to serve him: I wish you may both prolong your Lives so, as he may one Day be more thankful and capable of your Kindness, by profiting much from your good Instructions and Advice. And since you so earnestly press me by the Memory of your

deceased

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deceased Friend, to let you know wherein you might oblige me, I'll venture to break the Bounds of Modesty so far, as to tell you I should be extremely pleased to receive from your self the last Edition of your incomparable *Essay of Human Understanding*, and such other Pieces of your Works as you shall think fit; for all which, as I have a great Esteem, so I should have a more particular Regard, coming from your self, as a private Memorial of my dear Brother's Friend, and of a Person for whom I have such an extraordinary Value, as I shall ever be proud of owning my self,

S I R,

Your truly affectionate,

and humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

Oates, 25 Jan. 1698.

S I R,

I Have been slower in returning you my Thanks for the Favour of your Letter of the 26th of *November*, and the Civilities you express to me in it, than perhaps I should have been. But the Truth is, my Thoughts never look towards *Dublin* now, without casting such a Cloud upon my Mind, and laying such a Load of fresh Sorrow on me for the Loss of my dear Friend, your Brother, that I cannot without Displeasure

turn

turn them that Way; and when I do it I find my self very unfit for Conversation and the Entertainment of a Friend. 'Tis therefore not without Pain that I bring my self to write you a scurvy Letter. What there wants in it of Expression, you must make up out of the Esteem I have for the Memory of our common Friend; and I desire you not to think my Respects to you the less, because the Loss of your Brother makes me not able to speak them as I would.

Since you are pleased to put such a Value on my Trifles, I have given Order to Mr. Churcbill to send you my last *Reply to the Bishop of Worcester*, and the last Edition of my *Treatise of Education*, which came forth since Mr. Molyneux's Death. I send this with the more Confidence to you, because your Brother told me more than once, that he followed the Method I therein offer to the World, in the breeding of his Son. I wish you may find it fit to be continued to him, and useful to you in his Education; for I cannot but be mightily concerned for the Son of such a Father, and wish that he may grow up into that Esteem and Character, which his Father left behind him amongst all good Men who knew him. As for my *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, it is now out of Print, and if it were not, I think I should make you but an ill Compliment in sending it you less perfect than I design it should be in the next Edition, in which I shall make many Additions to it: And when it is as perfect as I can make it, I know not whether in sending it you I shall not load you with a troublesome and useless Present. But since by desiring it you seem to promise me your Acceptance, I shall as soon

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as it is re-printed take the Liberty to thrust it into
your Study. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

CUM ante dies decem ad amicum nostrum
D^m Guenellonem scripsi, facile credes quod
te V. C. non insalutatum præteriverim : Verum
mei officii tuorumque beneficiorum ratio postulat
à me aliam & salutandi & gratias agendi metho-
dum, ne aut obiter aut negligenter id quod mihi
maxime incumbit agere videar. Præsertim cum
Guenellonis nostri silentium me incertum reddat
an meæ ad ipsum pervenerint literæ, quas sane
minime vellem intercidisse ; ne vobis omnibus,
quibus tot nominibus obstrictus sum, aut parum
memor aut parum gratus appaream, credatisque
paucarum horarum intervallum ex animo meo tot
tantorumque beneficiorum delevisse memoriam,
quam nulla temporis diuturnitas unquam delere
valebit. In iis etiam significavi quam humaniter
tuus Vander Key me excepit, quam officiose adju-
vit, quo nomine hic tibi gratias iterum agendas sua-
det Viri istius summa humanitas, quanquam illud
parum

parum est, si cum maximo beneficiorum tuorum cumulo conferatur. D^m Veenium & optimam illius scēminam, quibus salutem verbis non facile reperio, cum nulla sint quæ aut illorum beneficia, aut eas quas habeo & semper habebō gratias æquare possint, tuis tamen rogo quibus potes verbis maxime ornes. Ut me hic ulterius pergentem detinuit valetudinis ratio ad D^m Guenellonem scripsi. Amœnitas loci, & si non desidia, saltem quietis amor, & molestiæ quam in itinere perpeßus sum averfatio adhuc detinet. Deambulationes hic, quibus quotidie prægressum ulciscor otium, valde jucundæ sunt; sed longe jucundiores forent si aliquot vestrum expatiandi haberem socios, quod tam mei quam vestri causa continuo opto, præsertim sic favente cœlo: Nec enim credo sanitati incommodum esset præsertim D^r Guenelloni, cujus infirmis pulmonibus & valetudini parum robustæ prodesset maxime credo hic serenus & liber aer. Quid agatur apud vos, præsertim nostrorum respectu, ad me perscribas rogo; præsertim me de tua amicorumque nostrorum valetudine certiolem facias. Sum,

Cleve, 28 Sept.
1685.

Tui observantissimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

DUAS à te, Vir amplissime, officii & benevolentiae plenas hic accepi literas, nec ingratum tibi videbor, spero, si ad singula, prout oportet, non fusè respondeam, temporis angustia impeditus.

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peditus. Hoc unum enixe rogo, ut des operam, ut de adventu Comitis Pembrokiae per aliquem tuorum amicorum Hagæ degentium certior fiam, transmissio ea de re vel ad me vel ad te nuntio. Dux copiarum Britannicarum futurus huc adventat, & si jam non adest, quotidie expectatur. Mea multum interest, ut quam fieri potest, mature illius accessum cognoscam. Hoc cum dixerò, satis scio te omnem curam operamque in eo locaturum, ut quam celerrime id mihi innotescat. De aliis alias, nam tabellarius discedit. Amicos meos meo nomine quam officiosissime quaeso salutes. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama,

Cleve, 3 Oct.
1685,

Tui observantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir Clarissime,

SI duabus tuis amicissimis epistolis parum vel nihil à me responsum est, id instanti tabellarii discessui imputes rogo, nec credas me tam rebus meis intentum, tuæ vero consuetudinis & jucundissimi juxta ac doctissimi sermonis negligentem, ut omnia de meis negotiis, de tuis gratissimis literis nihil dicerem, nisi gravis aliqua subesset causa cur de adventu Comitis Pembrokiae quam fieri potuit citissime certior fierem. Sed jam, quo maxime propendet animus, ad te, Vir optime, & scripta tua redeo, in quibus primo accuso amicitiam tuam de me & meritis meis tam magni-

magnifice, de vestris erga me officiis & beneficiis tam exiliter loquentem. Hi sunt, fateor, magnæ & non fictæ amicitiaë aliquando errores de quibus ideo queror, ut mihi aliter de iisdem rebus sentienti ignoscas, & me credas amicitiaë & gratitudinis dictata sequi cum in ea persistam sententia, aliqua me apud vos accepisse beneficia quibus respondere verbis nec possim nec debeam. Et nisi vos omnes in re, contra quam par est, voluntati meæ obstare viderem, tuam ego hic opem implorarem ut hanc mihi velles eximere ægritudinem, & tua autoritate, qua plurimum apud præstantissimum Veenium polles, huic querelæ tam justæ finem imponeres. Si, quod videris promittere, sed heu! longum abest, his in collibus & sylvarum umbra, tua frui daretur & amicorum nostrorum consuetudine, crederem ego specimen aliquod aurei rediisse seculi. Nam virtus, benignitas, pax & fides in sylvis solum degabant, quibus in urbanorum hominum frequentia vix datur locus. Sic cecinerunt Poetæ: An aliquid aliud nos doceant Historici, hoc tempore non est mihi inquirendi animus. Gaudeo fratrem tuum convaluisse & sine graviore aliquo symptomate. Locum illum Epistolæ tuæ ubi scriptorum tuorum memineris non sine mœrore legi; sentio quantam ex discessu meo fecerim jacturam & voluptatis & eruditionis, quod non legerim reliqua tua scripta, ex quibus non minorem mihi lucem promitterem quam ex jam lectis multo cum fructu percepissem. Si vis ut sincere & aperte dicam, nullibi reperi opiniones magis dilucide propositas, argumentorum rationibus melius subnixas, à partium studiis longius remotas, & veritati per omnia magis conformes. Hoc me ex animo proferre dubitare non potes, cum me tam importune, tam dedita opera, criticum

cum tam paucis potuisse dentem malignum imprimere patet. Sed me miserum ! magnam partem fructus, quem ex ista mea critica severitate mihi proposui, perdidi. Plurima enim quæ inter legendum notaveram non tam tui corrigendi quam mei informandi feci animo, de quibus tecum ulterius inquirendum statueram. Non est igitur quod mihi tanto ardelioni gratias agas, satis est si vehementi nimis inquisitori & culpandi anfas studiose quærenti ignoscas. Quanquam non male pictæ tabulæ indicium est si quis cogatur in ea quærere nævos. Utinam quæ ego meditor eo essent scripta idiomate ut tu potueris vices rependere, reperires te ulciscendi copiosam materiam. Quod scribis de critici critico * facile credo ; quamprimum enim attigi istum undecimæ epistolæ locum, videbar mihi audire obstrepentium exclamationes quasi de religione omnino actum esset, nôsti hujusmodi hominum mores, quominus heterodoxum aliquid possint refellere, ne nihil in causa Dei agere videantur, tanto magis clamoribus, inculpationibus, calumniis insurgunt. Fateor argumentum istud modeste proponendum fuisse, & caute tractandum, sed tamen ejusmodi est ut mereatur tandem summa cum acribia discutiri. Si omnia quæ in sacris libris continentur pro theopneustis pariter habenda sine omni discretione, magna sane præbetur philosophis de fide & sinceritate nostra dubitandi ansa. Si è contrario quædam pro scriptis pure humanis habenda : ubi constabit scripturarum divina autoritas, sine quâ corruet religio christiana ? quodnam erit criterium ? quis modus ? adeo ut in hac quæstione, si qua alia, maxime fundamentali, summa cum

* *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens d'Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du P. Simon.*

cautione, prudentia, modestia agendum, præsertim ab eo cui uti credo jam non nimium favent ecclesiasticæ potestates & theologorum classes. Sed signa cecinerunt, & expectandus est conflictus. Ego qui ubique solam quæro veritatem, eamque quantum capere possum, sive inter orthodoxos reperio sive heterodoxos, pariter amplector, fateor aliqua esse in eo scripto quæ mihi plene non satisfaciunt, alia quibus respondere non possum, de illis ab autore libenter responsum acciperem, si commodum existimas, de his tuum quæro judicium.

I. Ni fallor, author sæpius utitur contra apostolorum continuam inspirationem hoc argumento, quod sc. multa ab illis dicta invenimus, quæ sine auxilio Spiritus Sancti dici poterant; quod tamen concessum, contra divinam S. scripturæ auctoritatem & Θεοπνευσίαν nihil concludit. Afferitur in S. scriptura constans per omnia & infallibilis veritas. Si quid autem dicit S. Paulus Act. xxiii. (V. p. 241.) quod cœlitus ipsi revelatum non erat, id nihil detrahit certitudini scripturæ, quandoquidem ejusmodi res esset, quam certo & infallibiliter cognoscere potuit sine revelatione divina. Quæ sensibus & certa cognitione apostolis constabant, non opus erat revelatione ut earum historia ab apostolis tradita pro indubitata haberetur. Itaque metuo ne homines suspicentur hoc argumentum potius quæsitum quam è re natum.

H. Explicatio illius promissi Joan. xvi. 13. quam fuscè tradit p. 256. nequaquam mihi videtur posse accommodari apostolo Paulo, si quis attente legat illius historiam Act. ix. & seq. Unde enim ille evangelii hostis, &, ut ipse alicubi fatetur, ignarus, poterat tam cito devenire mysteriorum evangelii interpret & præco sine inspiratione

ratione supernaturali & divina? V. Act. ix. 19, 20. Hæc aliqua eorum quæ mihi inter legendum parum satisfecerunt, alia fuerunt quorum oblitus sum: sed quid ad hæc dicat author libenter scirem. Verum cum plurima alia sunt quæ videntur omnimodam S. Scripturæ infallibilitatem & inspirationem in dubium vocare, quibus fateor me non posse respondere; enixe rogo ut quid ea de re sentias mihi explicare non graveris: multa enim quæ in libris canonicis occurrebant jamdiu ante tractatus hujus lectionem dubium me & anxium tenuerunt, & gratissimum mihi facies si hunc mihi adimas scrupulum. Cum summa quæso amicitiae, gratitudinis & existimationis significatione hanc inclusam hospiti meo optimo tradas. Illiusque & tuam & Guenellonis sceminam meo nomine salutes, reliquosque nostros omnes. Vale, & longas epistolas scribenti ignoscas, nam tecum loqui haud facile desisto.

Cleve, 6 Oct.

Tibi devotissimus, V

1685.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

QUanquam longo usu ad alia hujus vitæ incommoda occaluit aliquatenus mens mea, à consuetudine tamen tua, Vir doctissime & amicorum optime, me divelli sine magna animi ægritudine pati non possum. Tu enim me eruditione tua instruere, judicio confirmare, consilio dirigere, & amicitia & comitate solari solebas, quotidianum

cura.

curarum mearum perfugium: sed ita plerumque mecum agi solet, ut ubi aut quibuscum esse maxime cupio, refragante fortuna, raro permissum sit. Devorandum igitur ut potero hujus absentiae tædium, quod frequentibus tuis literis levare debes, jam præsertim dum tempus & otium tibi permittunt adversarii illi, qui domi suæ prælia tibi meditantur. Hoc te in quo jam sumus sæculo expectasse non dubito. Si candide, & ut veritatis amici argumentorum pondere tecum agant, tibi scio non displicebunt, qui veritatem amplecteris undecunque venientem. Sin iracunde, veteratorie, maligne, paucis placebunt, nisi sui similibus; quicquid demum acciderit hoc certum est, quod tu illæsus, victorque abibis, quia veritatem quæris non victoriam. Sed ut verum fatear, ego à rixosis hujusmodi disputatoribus non multum expecto, qui in alienis convellendis, non suis adstruendis quærunt gloriam. Artificis & laudem merentis est ædificare. Sed pugnaces hosce sibi & curis suis relinquamus. Si quid in B--- placidius & liberalius reperisti, gaudeo; pacificorum vellem quotidie augeri numerum, præsertim inter reformatos, inter quos nimium quotidie seruntur lites. Inimicus homo facit hoc. Alterius sunt indolis amici quibus hic te favente familiariter utor. Uterque Grævius salutem plurimam tibi dicit. Verrynium sæpius quæsitum nondum domi reperi; hujus septimanæ dies aliquot extra urbem transegit, cum domum redierit non diu infalutatum permittam. Vale cum tua tuisque, & me ama

Utrecht,
11 Oct. 1686.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHI-

Q

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir reverendissime, amicissime, colendissime,

SIne fati & ineluctabili prædestinationis vi ex-
superior in me ipso, quomodo peccandi initia
quandam sensum afferunt secum peccandi necessi-
tatem. Literis tuis amicissimis 9 & 14 Febr.
dati respondendi quamprimum eas acceperam
ansam mihi eripuit rei alicujus agendæ importuna
tum festinatio. Sed cum, peracto cum eo quo-
cum mihi res erat negotio, jam decessus illius in
Angliam mihi fecerit otium, satis ad literas scri-
bendas vacare mihi videor, nondum tamen nactus
sum eam, qua alias usus sum, scribendi liber-
tatem. In hoc silentii crimen rebus aliis impe-
ditus quasi inscius incidi miser, quod jam tem-
pore auctum pene confirmat pudor. Sic delicta
delictis cumulamur semel irretiti, & modesti
pariter & pervicaces in vitiis suis indurescunt.
Vides quo in statu jam sum, & nisi credere me
vis omnia certa & immutabili necessitate evenire,
negligentiæ huic meæ ignoscere debes, ut redeat
mihi antiqua mea apud te parrhesia. De Ger-
mana patrum theologia idem tecum plane sentio.
Maxima semper fuit semperque erit Germanorum
natio, & pauci sunt in tanta scriptorum multi-
tudine, qui non videntur eo sub aere nati. Sed
me hac de re à tua opinione non esse alienum non
multum miraberis. Aliquid amplius fateor est,
quod ego numeros tuos secretos notaverim, &
quod tu hoc observaveris. Cave tibi & ignosce
quamprimum silentio meo, ne loquacitate tibi
magis sim molestus. Vides me in secretoria tua
penetrare. *Scire volunt secreta domus,----& nôsti*
quod

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 243

quod sequitur,---atq; inde timeri. Magicæ hæ metuendæ sunt artes nimis perspicaces, quibus ego non parum mihi placeo, quandoquidem ex tam jucundo tam laudabili enascuntur fonte, & id mihi testatum faciunt quod ante omnia cupio. Scio jam mentem meam à tua harmonica quadam sympathia regi plane & gubernari. Sic me orthodoxum semper fore certum est. O! utinam eodem modo & sciens fieri possem. Ut enim verum fatear inscius tuis numeris usus sum, sed gaudeo me prodiisse tenus; vellem & in aliis rebus hoc mihi accideret. Agnosco genium tuum, cui me ducendum totum libenter traderem. Gratias ago quam maximas pro omni tua cura & opera, in literis, in libris, & aliis meis rebus locata. Utinam daretur & vices rependere. Vale & me ama

Tui amantissimum,

18

Rotterodami, Mar. 8. 16

)(87

J. LOCKE.

5

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

QUID illo facies homine, qui nec cantare par est, nec respondere paratus? Quid juvat libertate à te ipso concessa uti sine viribus ad ea quæ decent præstanda necessariis? Jucundissima tua & floribus undique referta epistola ad ea quæ scribis iterum iterumque legenda maxime invitat, ut vero calamum sumam, & aliquid meo more rescribam valde dehortatur & deterret. Etsi enim

Q 2

grati

grati sit animi, argutis & facietis amici sermonibus aliquid respondere, imprudentis tamen est & parum pudici, ornatis incondita, urbanis agrestia, pretiosis vilia, vel in ipso literarum commercio reponere. Frustra igitur à te libertate donatus sum, munus sane in specie magnificum, sed nisi aliquid de tuo etiam impertire possis ingenio, plane inutile, frustra enim accusabis me tanquam in libertate tardum, cui tam parata & iusta sit defensio hebetem non debere esse loquacem, nec decere *χάλκεια χρυσείων*, ut enim eo modo liber sim, parum certe videbor liberalis. Novi animum tuum, novi ingenium, & quam paratus sis omnia ab amica voluntate profecta in bonam partem interpretari, hoc boni omnia consulentis non parva laus est, sed male interim scribentis pessima excusatio. Ea tamen fiducia fretus en te iterum compellere ausim melioribus studiis vacantem; si quid in eo pecco, nolo incusare vim à fatis illatam, causam sane, si qua sit, omnium maxime improbam, sed te ipsum, qui ab omni vi & coactione longissime abes, tua humanitas, tua benevolentia, tui lepores cogunt ut agnoscam & ut fatear me tibi gratias habere, etiamsi referre non possim. Si his conditionibus mecum agere velis, en tibi ad legendas tuas epistolas paratissimum & cupidissimum: Ad meas rescribendas etiamsi cupiam tardum, & sane tam necessitate quam officio tardum. Tu cum ista excusatione uti non potes, & mature scribas rogo & abunde. Id ni facias audies me graviter querentem, te non præstare & amico & egenti id quod potes, & id quod debes quia potes. Si jam inciperem iniquo jure communem inter nos colere amicitiam, hæc jam proponere vix animum inducerem; sed cum hac lege à primordiis amicitiae semper viximus, ut tu propere & cumulate omnia officia benevolentiae præ-

præstares, ego vel in agnoscendo parcus & lentus
essem, pati jam debes mores meos quantumvis
malos vetustate jam confirmatos, in quibus nihil
novum, nihil insolens reperiēs. Vides quocum
tibi res est; in hac tamen culpa non prorsus in-
gratus videri vellem, si id in se aliquid gratitu-
dinis habet, ut qui eam qua se destitutum fatetur,
in te miratur & amplectitur virtutem: in ea quæro
mihi patrocinium quod mihi met præstare non
possum. Sed de me satis, ad majora nunc venio
tua, scil. typographo haud parum irascor quod
tuum, tam utile, tam doctum opus adeo procras-
tinet, spero jam accedente sole operarum dili-
gentia incalcescet. De Episcopii etiam tractatu
gaudeo: de alio quod postulas tecum coram agam,
ut enim quod res est fatear, scripseram prius ad
te nisi speraveram antehac me Amstelodamum ac-
cessurum, ut jucundissima illic amicorum consue-
tudine fruerer, imprimis tua, sine qua hi ipsi
veris non amœne transeunt dies. Vale, Vir præ-
stantissime, &, ut facis, me ama

*Rotterdamii,
16 Maii, 1687.*

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.



PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Nonne satis tibi est, Vir clarissime, Judæum * vicisse, nisi eodem opere inter Christianos, tui amantissimum tibi etiam prorsus subjuges? Diversis fateor armis nos aggredieris, illum argumentis, me beneficiis obstrictum tenes, è quibus ille se vix credo expediet; ego certo de me pronunciare possum, me tibi semper obnoxium futurum. Quid enim rependam viro cui non sufficit me suis cumulare beneficiis, nisi insuper me dignum reddere conetur, dum suas sibi laudes ipse detrahit, quibus me ornatum velit; & in earum partem mihi non debitam venire? Tu fateor amica tua urbanitate facilius me quocunque velis circumducere possis, quam ille alter sua quemquam metaphysica. Sed ne expectes tamen ut unquam eo usque me deducas, ut concedam istam festinationem, qua exemplar ad me primum omnium misisti, mihi quovis jure deberi. Totum hoc beneficium & festinationis & muneris, tuæ benevolentiae & amicitiae acceptum refero. Tu forsan, prout tua est humanitas, aliquo modo æquum putasti ei primo omnium donare, quem noveras debere ex jam degustato opere vehementissime omnium expetere hanc dissertationem, & desiderare redintegratam sibi denuo legendi voluptatem. Hujusmodi meritum facile agnosco, nec cuiquam donare poteras hoc volumen, cui æque exoptatum, æque acceptum esse potuit ac mihi. Triduum illud & amplius, uti mones, nemo videbit. Laudo ego istam tuam erga Judæum co-

* *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ Amica Collatio cum erudito Judæo.* (Is. Orobio.)

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mitatem; quanquam, ni fallor, quando perlegerit vix credet ille, sibi hoc munere tantum factum esse beneficium, ut gaudeat tam mature hunc librum in manus suas pervenisse. De eo quod in calce epistolæ adjicis brevi plura. Dolui te per triduum mihi tam prope tam proculque fuisse. Sed patientius ferendum quod amicum habeam, quem plures amant. Optimam tuam uxorem, collegas, reliquosque amicos nostros, officiosissime quæso meo nomine salutes. Vale, & me ama

Rotterd.

11 Sept. 1687.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Nimis severus profecto es, Vir clarissime, tuorum erga amicos officiorum exactor, alienæ vero negligentiae valde immemor, dum te cunctationis insimulas, apud hominem uti nostri omnium mortalium maxime cunctatorem. Nolo igitur apud te obtinere axioma illud, quo ultimas tuas male auspicatus es, *Nihil deterius amico cunctatore*, sive de te ipso cogites, sive (uti aliquando meliore jure evenire possit) de me. Ego enim lentus admodum, & tamen inter eos qui amicitiam cum fide colunt non ultimum mihi locum vendico. Si hoc aliquanto arrogantius dictum sit tu ipse videas. Tu alienas laudes mihi tribuis, & si illis semel mihi placeo, ubi tandem me sistam? Istud synagogæ decretum satis, ut mihi videtur, à Judæis astute promulgatum, ut eorum

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hic hyperaspistes aliquid habeat quod aliis dicat, etiam si nihil habeat quod tibi respondeat: è consulto hoc factum credo, ut salvo honore & quantum fieri possit causa, possit ex arena decedere: tua enim argumentandi methodus an nasutulis quibusdam Christianis, & nihil nisi sua probantibus, placebit, nescio; vix credo placebit Judæis, qui ea se magis implicatos sentient, quam fieri solet ab iis qui Christianam religionem ad suum modulum exigentes, vix in ea reperirent quod solide Judæis opponere possent. Ego à quo librum tuum primum accepi (nam ita me cumulas ut distinctione opus sit) tam incommoda usus sum valetudine, ut illius lectioni vacare adhuc non potuerim. Sed jam indies convalescens, spero me non diu cariturum ea voluptate. Interim gratias tibi ago quam maximas; & jam spero credes mihi satisfactum duplici hoc tributo, quod illud Judæi scriptum, sive characteres respicias sive latinitatem, plane barbarum, olim perlegerim; nam de tuo si quid dicas, cogitare debes & profiteri quantum ego per te profecerim. Ita enim, si verum dicere liceat, se res habet. Sed nolo ulterius ea de re tecum contendere, ne tertium mihi librum mittas. Literas D. Clerici quas tuis inclusas memoras nuspiam reperio; spero eas Amstelodami repertum iri & brevi me accepturum. Illum, tuam, tuos, nostros, quæso meo nomine salutes, & me ames, Vir amplissime,

Rotterd.

Tui amantissimum,

23 Sept. 1687.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

INter cardiaca, &, uti nostri vocant, restaurantia, nihil tam efficax reperio quam amicorum benevolentiam. Tuis ultimis literis me maxime recreatum sentio. Jam diu prioribus tuis humanitatis plenis respondiſſem, ſi quid certum de valetudine mea pronunciare auſus fuiſſem; ſubinde enim cum me jam ſanum ſalvumque credideram, recidivam paſſus inter ſpem morbumque diu verſatus diſtuli ad te literas dare, donec certo aliquot dierum experimento me prorsus convaluiſſe conſiderem. Hæc cunctatio ultimas tuas amicitiae plenas tibi expreſſit literas, & mihi attulit remedium utilius eo & jucundius, quod mihi à D^{no} Veenio per Helmontium miſiſti ſumma cum cura & feſtinatione: quanquam fruſtra, ſamula enim per negligentiam everſa phiola incluſum effudit liquorem. Sed jam ſpero non amplius opus erit remediis, quamvis ſubinde levia quædam ſentio ſymptomata, quæ ſpero non recrudſcentis mali eſſe minas, ſed abeuntis reliquias. Hæc ad te ſigillatim ſcribere non vereor, quia de valetudine mea ita ſolicitus es, ut alio modo tuæ humanitati magis grate reſpondere non poſſim. Gaudeo vehementer te pauco ſanguine redemiſſe quod tibi impendebat malum. Spero te ea cautione & mature ſemper uſurum: quamprimum aliquam ſentis gravitatem corporis, præſertim capitis vel ventriculi, ad venæ ſectionem tibi ſtatim conſugiendum. Hoc ni facias de te ſano magis metuendum erit quam de me ægroto. Nos valetudinarii quoddam genus ſumus hypocritarum, qui eo non proficiſcimus

cimur quo sæpius videmur tendere. Multum tibi, collegis cæterisque amicis Amstelodamensibus debeo quibus mea sanitas ita cordi est; nec sperare possum vitam mihi satis diuturnam fore ut tantam benevolentiam, tuam vero imprimis, prout res meretur, possim agnoscere; hoc velim tibi persuasum habeas me quantulus quantulus sum totum tuum esse. Salutes, quæso, quam humillime meo nomine Veeniosque Guenellosque & collegas omnes, illisque dicas mihi eos tam eximios esse medicos, ut magis mihi profint illorum vota quam aliorum remedia. Lectissimam tuam foeminam quam officiosissime etiam salutes. Vale, & ego ut valeam, uti facis, me amando pergefacerem.

Rotterd. Tui cum amore observantissimus,
20 Oct. 1687.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

CUM nihil adeo corporis sanitatem foveat & restauret ac animi tranquillitas, non dubitare potes quin jucundissimæ tuæ literæ amoris & benevolentiae tuæ testes, in hac, in qua diu versatus sum, infirma mutabilique valetudine, mihi maximo fuerint solatio. Aliorum medicamentorum me sæpe pertæsum, reficiebant illa tua semper grata, semper suavissima; & cum alia nauseabundus respuerem, salutifera illa salè tuo Attico condita appetentius semper desideravi. Cave igitur ut credas te mihi epistolis tuis creâsse molestiam, nisi simul credere velis ingratam fore con-
vale-

valescentiam, cujus tu amore, cura, studio tuo maximus fuisti fautor, nec destiterunt tantæ amicitiae indicia decumbentem me aliquando erigere. Si aliquanto tardius hæc cum gratiarum actione agnosco, nôsti hominem, nec expectare debes morbum me expeditiorem reddidisse. Quamquam, si hæc tibi justa satis videri possit causa, aliquantulum procrastinavi, ut confirmatæ sanitatis nuncium tibi possem mittere, & mihi tecum gratulari convalescentiam, quæ tibi adeo curæ & cordi fuit. Doleo Orobium nobis tam cito ereptum, non quod in eo amiseris triumphi ornamentum, scio enim te, modo veritas vincat, de vincendi gloria parum esse sollicitum, quamvis in illo vivente aliqua veritatis confessio non displicuisset: sed destinaveram in proximis ad te literis petere exactam eorum quæ in inquisitione passus est historiam. Ad hoc me impulit narratio cujusdam Galli quæ nuper prodiit de iis quæ ipse etsi Catholicus passus est ab inquisitoribus Lusitanis in Goa Indiæ. Quæ à Judæo nostro confirmari omnia vel superari posse facile crediderim. Quandoquidem vero ille jam ad silentes migraverit, rogo ut tu quicquid istius rei tenes memoria velis chartis consignare, ne intercadat quantum nobis restat methodi istius evangelicæ testimonium. Doleo me non interfuisse collegarum convivio, non quod ostreis caruerim, in hujusmodi enim conventibus nihil mihi minus placet quam pars taciturna, & ejusmodi convivarum sermo aliquid magis sapidum & jucundius salsum habet, quam ipsa ostrea Gaurana. Salutes eos, quæso, meo nomine, uti & optimam tuam scæminam, totamque Veenii & Guenellonis familiam. Ante duas vel tres septimanas ad D^m le Clerc scripsi, unaque chartas aliquas misi; an recte acceperit
aveo

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aveo scire, jam enim istis rebus vacare incipio :
ipsum meo etiam nomine salutes.

Vale, & ut ipse valeam, amando & scribendo
effice.

Rotterd. 30 Nov.

Tui studiosissimus,

1687.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir spectatissime,

QUantumvis obfirmato animo minas meas non
expavescis, senties tamen aliquando data oc-
casione quid sit irritasse crabronem, in eo enim
genere merito numerari possit provocatusque ira-
tusque amicus. Nondum vidi Acta illa Lipsi-
ensia ubi tu coram sisteris, sed euge! jam salva
res est, incepti de istius operis merito pretioque
aliquomodo dubitare, quod nemo ex systematicis
illis reperiret in eo tractatu quod displiceret, nihil
enim argumenti aut boni aut novi deberet con-
tinere, nec quod supra vulgus saperet, si vulgo
placeret. Sed jam vapulas laudo, nec vibices
metuo. Benignior his pædagogis si non voluntas,
saltem vis est, quam ut eorum virgæ vulnera vel
cicatrices relinquant. Conditiones subscriptionum
plus semel in Angliam misi, sed hætenus responsi
nihil accepi: ego data occasione iterum & ad alios
mittam, quo successu nescio: hæc enim & hu-
jusmodi, nisi præsto adsis & hæsitantes impellas,
immemores moneas, plerumque negliguntur.
Quod

Quod de Judæo narras valde placet: brevi habebitis, spero, quæ sufficient ad justum volumen, in quo sanctitas Officii ad plenum depicta, omnium oculos animosque in sui admirationem arripiat. Dolendum plane esset tot & tanta sanctitatis exempla in tenebris latere; prodeant tandem in lucem, ut quibus fundamentis stabilitur & propagatur fides tandem innotescat. De MS. codice ego nihil dico, ante biduum ea de re scripsit ad te Furleius noster. Inde conjicio te aliquando Wettstenium convenire, eaque occasione has inclusas illi tradendas ad te mittere ausim. Scripsi ad illum ante quindecim dies aliquosque misi ad illum libros, aliosque postulavi & festinato ad me mittendos, sed nihil audio, nihil respondet. Eoque magis silentium ejus me sollicitum habet quod simul miseram duo volumina *Garcillassi de la Vega* D. Veenio (cum epistola quam ad eum scripsi) reddenda quæ olim ab eo mutuo acceperam. Salutes illum, rogo, meo nomine reliquosque collegas. Vale, Vir amicissime, & me ama, ut facis,

Rotterd. 22 Jun.
1688.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir spectatissime,
SIVE iratum me sive gratum existimari vellem,
sentio me jam nimis diu tacuisse. Amicum
amico respondisse, crabronem irritanti vindictam
retulisse

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retulisse citius oportuit. Sed ego nescio qua ingenii tarditate nec amici nec inimici partes recte ago. An tibi hoc modo placere possim nescio, me Slado nostro (si cum eo ita agerem) valde displiciturum sat scio, qui hujusmodi Lentulos æquo animo ferre non potest. Editionem MS. * de quo cum Westsenio transigebas dolendum plane est non procedere, & metuo si jam non procedat illius impressio, ne intereat tam luculentum historiæ monumentum; quod sane multis qui jam omnium manibus versantur libris longe anteferendum existimo. Multa cum voluptate legi Clerici nostri Tentamen, ut ipse vocat, de antiqua Hebræorum poesi: non parum lucis inde affulsurum psalmis, reliquisque quæ in S. S. exstant scriptis metricis, minime dubito. Totum psalmorum librum sibi ita restitutum edi optarem: incites illum rogo ut quantum per alia negotia liceat hoc opus festinet. Cuidam meo amico in literis Hebræis versatissimo cum hoc dixissem, credere con potuit; exemplo persuasus jam credit. Plura habui dicenda, sed adventus amici ex Anglia hic me interpellat, adeo ut in aliud tempus sint rejicienda. Vale & me ama

Rotterd. 30 Julii,
1688.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

* *Historia Inquisitionis.*



PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

FAmulus meus Amstelodamum res suas agens profecturus meam non prius rogavit veniam quam instaret decessus, adeo ut ad te scribendi tempus non dabatur. Doleo profecto adeo labe- factatam in familia tua valetudinem. De morbo & curatione illius absens nihil audeo pronunciare, nec quidem opus est; cum tam amicos doctosque paratos tibi habeas medicos. Unum tamen per- mitte ut moneam, si, uti sperare videris, erum- pant tandem variolæ, velim ut in medicamentis assumendis & stragulorum operimentis caveatur regimen calidius, unde in sanguine excitatur fer- vor non sine magno ægroti malo & discrimine. Hoc vel invito extorsit mihi meus in te tuosque amor, & expertus loquor. Tuorum valetudo eo spero in statu est, ut de aliis loqui liceat, præfer- tim tibi haud ingratis. Furleius noster Principi ante decessum adfuit & coram allocutus est, ut illius opem contra persecutionem hac in provincia, si unquam alias, certe jam intempestive coeptam, efflagitaret. Rem ita urfit, ut placuerit Principi epistolam scribere Bailivio de Kenmerland, qui Foecke Floris ministrum ecclesiæ Mennonitarum jusserat ex autoritate synodi intra octiduum solum vertere, & ea ex ditione exire, ni mallet carcere includi. Historiam istius Foecke Floris ex aliis quam ex me melius cognosces. Furleio enim nostro ante hanc causam ne de facie quidem notus. Sed communem Christianorum rem in ejus libertate agi ratus, causam illius prono animo suscepit & strenue egit; si enim abfuisset *παρρησία*,
nihil

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nihil promovisset. Hujus epistolæ sufflamine repressum audio in præsens persecutorum fervorem. Si quid de hac re amplius inter Mennonitas vestros tibi innotuerit, fac nos certiores. Vale, Vir optime, cum integra tua familia: Sic animitus opto,

Rotterd. 24 Nov.

Tui studiosissimus,

1688.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

QUOD imprimis hinc decedens desideravi, ut scil. te, Vir amplissime, reliquosque amicos Amstelodamenses amplecti daretur, in eo omnia quasi dedita opera mihi maxime adversari videntur. Primo glacies & festinatio, deinde in ipso itinere pluvia intercepit. Die enim sabbati ultimo hinc Hagam profecturum, ut tibi nobilem foeminam ad Amstelodamum etiam cogitantem compellarem, imber satis violentus me Delphos transeuntem perfudit, quod incommodum Hagæ etiam passus sum. Ita totus madidus accessi ad illam, quæ nocturnum illud iter, quo ad vos ea nocte perrecturus eram, tanquam sanitati meæ nimis periculosum non dissuasit solum sed & prohibuit. Sic pluvia illa quæ jam à duobus mensibus pene unica quasi designato unius dieculæ vobiscum spem, qua hinc gestiens decessi, prorsus abstulit. In aula omnia tam parata ad abitum, tam moræ impatientia inveni, ut primo favente vento Principem classem conscensurum nemo dubitet.

bitet. Istud destinatum iter ad vos incœpi non tam vento quam Principis religioni confusus, quam vix credidi die dominica velle iter ingredi, etiamsi ventus orientalis invitaret; sed jam nihil aliud expectatur quam ventus navigationi idoneus, quo simul ad naves convolandum erit. Heri vesperi huc redii, & quamdiu hic languescendum sit nescio; hoc certo scio, nihil molestius esse quam ad fastidium usque laborare otio, & tamen ad id quod maximè velles tempus non suppetere. Quam vellem mihi dare apud vos horam unam vel alteram! Vultus, sermo, amplexus amicorum nescio quid habent, quo se explere anima mea anxie desiderat. Quo vos in me sitis animo, quo ego in vos nullum credo est dubium, nec augeri posset mutua nostrum amicitia valedicentium alloquio; opto tamen videre, dexteras jungere, ac me iterum vobis totum tradere cujus totus sum. Hoc si mihi jam non concessum fuerit, alias spero futurum: non enim de me tam male ominor, ut nullam credam fore diem quæ nos iterum conjungat. Multa sunt quæ hanc navigandi occasionem non mihi omittebam suadent: amicorum expectatio, res meæ privatæ jam per aliquot annos neglectæ, piratarum frequentia, & parum tutus alias transitus, & nobilissimæ scæminæ sive cura sive amicitia quacum iturus sum. Velim hoc tibi persuadeas, me hic aliam patriam reperisse & pene dixeram parentes, quod enim in illo nomine carissimum est, benevolentiam, amorem, charitatem, quæ ad conciliandos homines conjungendosque fortiora sanguine habent vincula, apud vos abunde expertus sum. Habeo hic amicos semper mihi colendos, imo & invisendos si res & dies patiatur. Hoc certo scio, quod decedo cum animo revertendi, ut cum illis solidum aliquando & illibatum capiam gaudium, quorum humanitate effectum est, ut à

R

meis

meis absens & in communi omnium mœrore nullam sentirem animi ægritudinem. Te quod attinet (Vir omnium optime, amicissime, dilectissime) cum tuam cogito doctrinam, animum, mores, candorem, suavitatem, amicitiam, fatis in te uno reperi (ut cæteros taceam) quo mihi semper gratulari potero optime locatam & fructuosissimam aliquot annorum apud vos moram: nec scio an aliquod mea vita tempus æque jucundum habitura sit, certe magis proficuum nondum habuit. Deus O. M. te omni felicitatum genere cumulatam, familiam, patriam incolumes conservet & custodiat, ut diu sis ecclesiæ & omnibus bonis utilis. De meo erga te animo qualis jam sit, qualis futurus sit, nihil addam, cum meum spero amorem non magis mihi notum & certum esse quam tibi, cujus in me amicitiam tot beneficiis testatam habeo, ut quicquid de ea literis tuis jucundissimis dicas, jam jam penitus persuaso facile persuadebis. Optimæ tuæ uxori liberisque, Veeniis, Guenellonisque omnibus plurimam salutem dicas; te mihi apud illos advocatum & patronum relinquo, ne quid gravius statuant in hominem tot beneficiis devinctum, si non fugientem, minus urbane certe quam oportuit valedicentem. Sed ita sunt fere res humanæ, ut nil præter voluntatem in nostra sit potestate, ea totus ad eos feror, ea singulos amplector, quæ mihi nunquam ad beneficiorum memoriam, ad grati animi confessionem defutura est. Vale, Vir colendissime, & me, ut facis, ama

Rotterd. Tui in perpetuum amantissimum,
26 Feb. 1689.

J. LOCKE.

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

VEreor ne nomine negligentiae tibi suspectus sim, quod tam diuturno utor silentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec meae voluntati, nec nostrae denique amicitiae omnino convenit. Scias velim me cum solo non animum mutasse, qui tibi idem qui olim est, & ubicunque terrarum fuero idem futurus est amoris & reverentiae plenus. Sed à meo in patriam reditu amicorum vel invisentium vel visendorum consuetudo, vel rerum mearum hinc inde dispersarum ad praesentem usum quaerendi & colligendi labor, vel aliqualis ad remp. (absit verbo invidia) si non accessio, saltem ne privatum otium publicis negotiis commutarem, cura & excusatio, & quod gravissimum omnium est, maligno hujus urbis fumo labefactata valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix momentum mihi vacui temporis relictum fuerit ex quo primum huc appulerim. Prima qua in terram descendendi hora ad Dⁿ Guenellonem festinante calamo & vernacula lingua inter salutantium turbam scripsi, ut per eum te caeteros amicos meos Amstelodamenses salutarem. Quicquid enim laetum jucundumque hic reperi me monuit aliquid illic relictum esse, quod non cum minore voluptate recorderer, quam quod hic oculis usurparem. Burnetus Episcopus Salisburiensis designatur. In Parlamento de tolerantia jam agi coeptum est sub duplici titulo, *Comprehensio* scil. & *Indulgentia*. Prima Ecclesiae pomceria extendenda significat, ut ablata caeremoniarum parte plures comprehendat. Altera tolerantiam significat eorum qui,

oblatis conditionibus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, se unire vel nolunt vel non possunt. Quam laxa vel stricta hæc futura sint, vix dum scio, hoc saltem sentio, clerum episcopalem his aliisque rebus quæ hic aguntur non multum favere, an cum suo vel reip. commodo ipsi videant. De solutione, de qua ad te ante discessum scripsi, expecto a te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 12 Mar.

1689.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir doctissime,

Tolerantiam apud nos jam tandem lege stabilitam te ante hæc audiisse nullus dubito: non ea forsan latitudine qua tu & tui similes veri & sine ambitione vel invidia Christiani optarent. Sed aliquid est prodire tenus. His initiis jacta spero sunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta quibus stabilienda olim erit Christi ecclesia. Nulli à cultu suo penitus excluduntur, nec pœnis obijciuntur, nisi Romani, si modo juramentum fidelitatis præstare velint, & renunciare transubstantiationi & quibusdam dogmatibus ecclesiæ Romanæ. De juramento autem Quakeris dispensatum est; nec illis obtrusa fuisset malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confessio fidei, si aliqui eorum istam fidei confessionem non obtulissent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos & cordatiores valde dolent. Gratias tibi ago pro exemplaribus tractatus de *Tolerantia* & pace ecclesiastica

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ftica quæ mihi mifiſti, compacta recte accepi, incompecta nondum ad manus meas pervenerunt. In vertendo de tolerantia libello aliquem Anglum jam jam occupatum intelligo. Opinionem illam pacis & probitatis fortricem ubique obtinere optarem. Acta inquisitionis jam pene deſcripta gaudeo, uti ſpero brevi proditura, opus utile & expectatum. Legem de tolerantia ſancitam ad Dⁿ le Clerc miſi, quo interprete intelliges quouſque extenditur hæc libertas. Vale, & me ama

Lond. 6 Jun.

Tui amantiſſimum,

1689.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

PRiores tuas intercidiſſe valde doleo, nihil enim à te proficiſci poteſt quod mihi, uti convenit, non ſit valde carum. Noviffimas tuas 29 Maii datas amore & benevolentia uſitata plenar accipiſſe lætor, quod tuæ tuorumque valetudinis me certio-rem faciunt. S^{ci} Officii hiftoriam oſcitantia bibliopolæ in ipſo partu ita hæere doleo. Prolegomena tua Dⁿ Cudwortha & ego valde probamus, & capitum Indicem quem tam amice promittis avide expectamus, ut iſta ſciagraphia operis tui ſtructuram prælibemus, interim optantes ut quam citiſſime integrum volumen Chriſtiano orbi maxime proficuum, & pene dixeram hoc tempore neceſſarium, prodeat. Illic enim fons omnis perſecutionis ſub prætextu religionis, illic fundamentum tyrannidis eccleſiaſtica, quam minores ſectæ

eo exemplo animatæ prædicant affectantque. Sed quo tendat, quas tragœdias ubique, quando parum adoleverit, editura sit, eo in speculo, qui sibi oculos non eruunt, facile videbunt. Ejus lectionem sibi & utilissimam & jucundissimam fore spondet D^r Cudwortha, quæ paternæ benignitatis hæres omnem de rebus religionis persecutionem maxime averfatur. Gratulatur sibi se in partem amicitiae qua patrem amplexus es successisse; te officiosissime salutat, plurimum æstimat & veneratur, unumque hoc dolet, quod non utatur lingua utriusque communi, ut ex commercio literarum amicitiae & eruditionis tuæ, quem optaret, fructum perciperet.

Historiam tuam de furda loquente duplici exemplo hic apud nos confirmare possum. Duo juvenes, utrique surdi, quorum alter à Doctore Wallis, celebri illo Oxonii matheseos professore, alter à Doctore Holder theologo edoctus, loquelæ usum didicit. Utrumque juvenem novi, & verba proferentem audiivi, distincte satis & articulate, tonus solum vocis parum erat ingratus & inharmonicus. De altero quid factum sit nescio, alter adhuc vivit legendi scribendique peritus, & à quo illum primo loquentem audiivi (viginti enim & plures sunt anni) uxorem duxit paterfamilias. Vir est ex generosa prosapia, nec diu est à quo illum viderim. Uxori liberisque tuis, Veeniis Guenellonisque & collegis nostris plurimam salutem meo nomine dicas. Vale, Vir amplissime, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 18 Jun.
1691.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD grandem tibi jamdiu destinaveram epistolam ideo accepisti nullam. Quæsi vacuum aliquod mihi tempus dari, ut tecum liberius & fufius colloqui possem, & gratias agere pro ultima tua & amiciffima epistola cui jamdudum responfum oportuit. Sed nescio quam rerum etiam non mearum importunitate ita mihi omne otium sublatum est, ut ne propriis quidem & domesticis negotiis vacare licuerit. Cave autem credas me publicis negotiis implicitum; nec valetudo, nec vires, nec rerum agendarum imperitia id patiuntur. Et cum mecum repetam quid à tribus jam mensibus adeo impeditus egerim, incantamenti instar videtur, ut quisque dies afferret negotiorum onus aliorum ex aliis nascentium, quæ nec sciens prævideram, nec cupiens evitare poteram.

Indicem librorum & capitum historię S^{ti} Officii Domina Cudwortha & ego legimus simul magna cum voluptate. Hæc prælibatio magnum excitavit in utroque integri operis desiderium, quod jam sub prælo esse cum gaudio à quodam Scoto non ita pridem ex vestra Batavia redeunte accepi. Bonis cum avibus procedat opus Christiano orbi imprimis utile. Hospes mea tyrannidi ecclesiasticæ inimiciffima sæpe mihi laudat ingenium & consilium tuum, laboremque huic operi tam opportune impensum; creditque frustra de religionis reformatione & evangelii propagatione tantum undique strepitum moveri, dum tyrannis in ecclesia, vis in rebus religionis (uti passim mos est) aliis sub nominibus utcunque speciosis obtinet.

& laudatur. Quid tandem factum est cum D^r isto theologo qui tam mira docuit de angelis in libro suo de spirituum existentia *? an non expertus est fratrum suorum pro religione, pro veritate, pro orthodoxia zelum? mirum si impune evadat. Apud nos prælum quod video nihil pene parturit, quod alieni cives scire aut legere multum desiderabunt. Ita obstrepunt undique arma, ut Musarum voces vix audiantur. Imo lis ipsa theologica jam consopita magnam in partem conquiescit, utinam cum animarum & partium concordia. Sed ea spes vana est, nec tam facile componuntur theologorum controversiæ. Bene est si incertas aliquando ferant inducias; ut mutua charitate fiantur penitus quis expectabit? Magna mihi apud te excusatione opus est ut tam diuturno silentio ignoscas. Id tibi persuadeas velim, hoc non alicui voluntatis alienationi, non decrescendi & minus fervidæ amicitiae tribuendum: te ut semper maxime æstimo, amo, amplector, semperque amabo. Fac itidem ut facis, & me ama

*Lond. 14 Nov.
1691.*

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

SI ex literarum tarditate de amicitia mea judicaveris, metuo ne me suspiceris ad officia nimis ignavum, à quo me profiteor cum res postulat longe alienum. In hoc literarum commercio si

* *Balthasar Bekker,*

qua

qua utor libertate, id plerumque evenit cum ad eos scribendum sit, quibus benevolentiam amicitiamque meam re potius quam verbis testatam fore mihi in animo est. Hoc an tu probaveris nescio, ita ego tibi persuasum velim. Nemo enim omnium qui te magis suspicit, æstimat, diligit quam ego: id nunc facio & semper faciam.

Non placet Wettstenii in edenda Sancti Officii historia cunctatio, hoc unicum in ea mora placet, quod te identidem relegente & sub incudem sæpius revocante, limatiorem perfectioremque habebimus. Hoc unum ut te moneam jam occurrit, scil. alterum hujusmodi volumen duodecim circiter ab hinc annis Monspeffulis extitisse ab hoc distinctum; duo enim illic tunc erant hujusmodi volumina.

Zelus theologicus, uti video, semper & ubique idem est, eodemque modo procedit: quid tandem devenit paradoxorum ille de angelis auctor scire cupio, si evasit mirum est, quanquam eò res inclinare videbatur quo tempore scripsisti, favente etiam Amstelodamensium prædicatorum desidia; vix tamen veniam ei datam credo. Hujusmodi orthodoxiæ propugnatores non solent errantibus ignoscere. Presbyteriani in Scotia quid agant malletm ex aliis quam ex me scires. Zelus illic in frigido isto aere per antiperistasin incallescere videtur. Satis fervide disciplinæ suæ operam dant, an satis prudenter, an satis modeste, ipsi videant. Sed ubi causa Dei agitur, ut nôsti, & ejus Ecclesiæ, quid sibi theologi non putant licere, auctoritatem suam soli Deo acceptam referentes? D^m le Cene semel vidi Londini, sed semel tantum, idque obiter apud nobilissimum Boyleum, adeo ut fermocinandi locus non esset de rebus illius vel amicis Amstelodamensibus; ab eo tempore parum Londini commoratus sum valetudini rure vacans, pulmones enim non ferunt fumum urbis.

Epif-

Episcopum illum cui Dⁿ le Cene commendasti credo pacis ecclesiasticæ sincere studiosum. Sollicitus sum de valetudine Veenii nostri, angusto est pectore, & metuo pulmonibus ejus, metuo etiam ne praxi continuæ jam à multis annis assuetus rure otio intabescat. Opto illi diuturnam & validam, jucundamque senectam, multum illi debeo quod semper gratus agnoscam. Recte facis quod persecutionem religionis ergo in pontificiis solum damnas. Si quam inter Christianos sectam feligas cujus crudelitatem insecteris, à reliquis laudaberis, quanquam persecutio ubique eadem est & plane pontificia. Quælibet enim ecclesia sibi verbis arrogat Orthodoxiam, re Infallibilitatem. D^a Cudwortha te omni humanitate & æstimatione refalutat. Saluta quæso uxorem, familiamque tuam, Veenium, Guenellonem, omnemque istam stirpem officiosissime meo nomine. Vale, Vir colendissime, & me, ut facis, ama,

Oates, 29 Feb.

Tui amantissimum,

1692.

J. LOCKE.

De miraculis post apostolorum tempora certior fieri cupio. Non ego satis versatus in historia ecclesiastica, ut quid de iis statuam nōrim. Rogo igitur obnixè, nam mea interest scire, an post apostolorum tempora edita fuerint in ecclesia Christiana miracula, quibus auctoribus & qua fide memoriæ tradita, quam frequentia, & an ad Constantini imperium vel diutius duraverint, & quis fuit ille Thaumaturgus, & quid ab eo actum est cujus tam speciosa appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quæro miraculorum quæ in scriptoribus ecclesiasticis memorantur catalogum, sed an constat ex fide dignis historicis fuisse vera miracula, an

raro

raro vel sæpius edita, & quamdiu donum illud ecclesiæ concessum.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

AB acceptis tuis 27 Junii datis ad urbem accedens hodie primum Archiepiscopum conveni. Quamprimum tuum audivit nomen, agnovit acceptam à te contra Judæum disputationem, excusavit silentium quod ob valetudinem, oculorum debilitatem, & alia quæ intervenerunt impedimenta, integram nondum perlegerat. Laudavit maxime illud opus una cum autore, & gratias quas nondum egit se habere agnovit. Historiam Sancti Officii jam valde oportunam judicavit. Caput indicem summa cum voluptate & approbatione perlegit, & cum tuum de dedicatione consilium aperuisssem, ea verborum urbanitate & honore, eo vultu accepit, ut si adfuisses hoc sibi non ingratum fore certus esses. Mitte igitur quamprimum dedicationem, novi viri modestiam, & laudo consilium tuum, quod prælectam ab eo prius velis quam editam. Illi monstrabo, quod scio honori ducet, & si quid mutandum videtur indicabo. Interim dixit se habere librum Lusitanæ editum de quodam actu Inquisitionis in Lusitania, in cujus exordio occurrunt Paparum bullæ aliaque diplomata quibus potestas Sancti Officii concessa & stabilita est, accuratius collecta. Nomen authoris non retinebat memoria, & liber ipse, illius bibliotheca nondum in ordinem redacta, ab ipso quæsitus non repertus est. Volumen est, ut
aiunt,

aiunt, in 8^{vo}. Brevi ipsum iterum revifam, eam curam cuidam domesticorum mandabit, ut ante reditum meum præſto fit liber. Tunc tibi nomen authoris præſcribam, & ſi nondum videris ipſum librum tibi mutuo commodabit reverendiſſimus archiepiſcopus. Grævium, Guenellonem, Veenioſque omnes meo nomine ſaluta. Clerico noſtro, quem officioliſſime ſaluto, ante aliquot ſeptimanas an menſes dicam ſcripſi; an pervenerint ad illum literæ meæ ignoro, nam ab iſto tempore nihil ab eo accepi. Hoc quæſo illi indices, ne me tarditatis, ſi mea interciderit epiſtola, ſuſpicetur. Fœminam tuam dilectiſſimam liberosque ſummo cum affectu ſaluto. Vale, Vir digniſſime, & ut facis, me ama,

Lond. 30 Jun.

Tui ſtudioſſimum,

1692,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

DE adventu librorum tuorum certior factus, qua potui feſtinatione Londinum me contuli, ut quæ tu de iis jufferas præſens curarem. Archiepiſcopus quamprimum acceſſeram, maximas ſe tibi gratias habere profeſſus eſt, opus ſibi perplacere, ſequæ à libri tui lectione hoc etiam tempore negotiis maximis occupatiſſimo abſtinere non poſſe: ſed magnam ejus partem ſumma cum voluptate ex quo accepiſt percurriſſe. Verum quo animo accepiſt, legit, laudavit tunc demum rectius intelliges ex ipſius verbis cum ad te deſtinatas literas

teras scribere vacaverit. Episcopus Salisburienſis multa & his ſimilia mihi dixit, & ſe adeo detentum immerſumque eſſe argumento libri tui (quo hiftoriam inquisitionis ultra quam expectari poterat dilucidam accuratamque tradidiſti) ut ad te ſcribere donec totum pervolverit non potuerit; ſe interim gratias tibi ampliffimas reddere. Comes Pembrokiensis multa de te cum laude, & promunere tuo per me gratias agi juſſit, donec ipſe ſua manu agnoſcet acceptiſſimum à te beneficium. Bathoniensem & Wellensem episcopum in domo procerum quæſivi, ſed non aderat: cumque extra urbem habitet hora una vel altera à meo hoſpitio eum in tam brevi mora convenire non poteram. Tuum autem librum illi traditum, uti reliquis omnibus, certo ſcio. Cæterum curavi ut D^r Clarke communis noſter amicus eum adeat, ut excuſet librum incompactum à te miſſum, quod ego reliquis quibus opus fuit feci, quanquam non omnino opus fuit. Mireris jam merito cur ego, qui non minus meo quam horum virorum nomine gratias agere deberem, tantus ceſſator eſſem, ubi feſtinandum potius eſſet, ut neglecta propioris loci commoditate, ruſ huc commigrarem antequam ad te darem literas. Dicam quod res eſt; ſanus urbem adii, ſed unius dieculæ mora adeo mihi mutata eſt valetudo, ut reſpirare vix potuerim. Ingraveſcebat quotidie malum, & tam cito me urbe expulit, ut neglecta maxima rerum illic agendarum parte aufugere neceſſe eſſet.

Librum tuum huc mecum attuli, ut tuo beneficio D^{ra} Cudwortha & ego habeamus hac hyeme noctes Atticas, quas nihil tam augere poterat quam authoris præſentia, & quos ſecum ſemper adfert ſales Attici. Ego huc die Saturni reverſus ſum; hodie libri tui lectionem incohandam quæ ſpe qua voluptate facile dijudicare potes, ſed cre-
das

das velim quas tibi habeo gratias non esse minores. Ex tuis 10 Octob. datis quamprimum mihi innotuit quot & quibus huc destinaveras exemplaria, egi cum hospite meo & bibliopola Smith, ut singula singulis quam ocissime traderentur antequam liber uspiam apud nos prostacket venalis, quod diligentissime factum est; nec ea in parte interiit aliqua tam eximii & tam opportuni operis gratia. Sed quid tandem statuendum est de MS. codice autographo, quod ego in tutissimo aliquo loco inter archiva reponendum suaderem, ut in perpetuum effrontes adversarios faciat fidem. Quinam vero is sit locus tutissimus, libenter tecum inquirerem.

Episcopii vitam tua manu æternitati consecrandam gaudeo: sed qua lingua? cum enim præfigendam eam concionibus illius Belgicis (ut reor) jam prodituris, metuo ne illius quoque historia prodeat etiam in lingua mihi minus familiari. Gratulor tamen erudito orbi hæc tam docti tam eximii viri monumenta, cujus omnes lucubrationes ab interitu conservandæ.

Jam apud nos prodiit Johannes Malela Antiochenus, quem diu & anxie petivit amicus meus Toinardus. Rogo igitur ut cum Wetstenio agas, ut quamprimum aliqua illius libri exemplaria ad illius manus pervenerint (quod scio maturius futurum quam si ego unum hinc ad eum Amstelodamum mittere vellem) unum ad Toinardum quam citissime transmittendum curabit, pretiumque meis rationibus adscribat, quod ego solvam. Malela author est nec magni nominis nec fidei. Sed in dubio aliquo chronologico se lucem inde mutuaturum speravit Toinardus, & cupio ego maxime illius inservire desiderio; igitur rogo ut hanc rem cures ut mihi gratissimam.

De Palinodia quam scripsisti in novissimis tuis 7 Nov. gratias ago maximas. Eodem tenore & ubique proceditur. Habeo enim de Gallis apud nos quod possit ferre secundas, imo quod superat omnibus bene trutinatis. Sed de his alias si cupias, jam enim nimis turgescit pagina.

Clerico nostro ante 15, Guenelloni ante 10 dies scripsi. Spero jam omnia pacata & amice composita in ista familia, cui omnino omnia bona opto. Hos cæterosque meos omnes, imprimis optimam tuam uxorem liberosque quæso meo nomine officiosissime salutes, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 28 Nov.
1692.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUamprimum ad urbem accessi nudiustertius reverendissimus archiepiscopus me ad se vocari curavit, & ut conveni de te & libro tuo multa cum laude præfatus, tandem dixit se ad te scripsisse negotiorum multitudine hætenus impeditus, paratamque epistolam sigillo muniens mihi in manus tradidit, ut inscriptione, illo dictante, mea manu exarata, tibi transmittendam curarem, quod libens suscepi. Insuper mihi tradidit libellum concionum nuper à se editarum, ut etiam ad te illum transmitterem, quod itidem diligenter curabo, & quamprimum hinc ad vos proficiscentem quempiam invenero ei tradam ad te perferendum.

Hætenus

Hactenus de archiepiscopi mandatis. Ad me quod attinet multas tibi & habeo & refero gratias pro ea quam ex historię tuę lectione percepi voluptate. Illud credo exhaustisti argumentum; certe illud mysterium iniquitatis mundo palam exposuisti, è tenebris in lucem protractum. Multarum rerum importuno impeditus intervntu nondum integram perlegi, post brevem ac in urbe moram rus reversurus, pergam porro ut satisfaciam ei quod in me excitasti desiderio. Novissimis tuis literis mihi pro more gratissimis responsum hac in charta expectare non debes. Festinans ad urbem eas rure reliqui, illuc cum rediero ad otii & quietis recessus opportunior dabitur tecum colloquendi occasio, hic vix respirandi mihi conceditur facultas. Interim amicitiam humanitatemquę tuam cosuetam agnosco. Te maximo cum affectu saluto, tuosque omnes, imprimis dilectissimam conjugem, liberosque Veenios, Guenellonesque nostros, omniaque tibi prospera & felicia precor. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 10 Jan.

Tui amantissimum,

1693.

J. LOCKE.



PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Juste meum a te reprehendi silentium libens fateor, nec si severiore manu delinquentem correxisses queri possim. Etsi enim pudet me adeo tardum fuisse ad officia, ut non nisi bis monitus excitarer: gaudeo tamen me tanti apud te fuisse, ut me primis vocibus male respondentem iterum tentandum arbitrareris. Excusatione valetudinis quam ipse tibi pro me suggessisti uti non possum. Gratias enim Deo, ex quo ad te ultimas dedi recte satis pro more meo valui, nec tamen sine omni causa à scribendo abstinui. Maximam partem libri tui summa cum voluptate perlegeram, progredi mihi in animo erat, & ad finem usque perolvere, ut de toto opere à capite ad calcem perspecto, eas quas possem gratias laudesque redderem. Non multum aberam à fine libri, & pauca illa capita quæ mihi restabant legenda spem quotidie fecerunt intra paucos dies potuisse absolvi. Sed sic negotiorum & invisentium series, dum nova & inexpectata continuato ordine se invicem exciperent, me de die in diem protraxerunt & adhuc protraxissent, nisi novissimæ tuæ tam amica objurgatione labentis temporis immemorem, primisque cogitationibus indormientem excitassent. En habes fatentem reum, negligentem agnosco; sed eo consilio, eo animo negligentem, quem culpæ vix possis: aut si qua fuerit culpa, ea spei toties deceptæ forte fuit (amicitiæ certe non fuit) quam eandem quæ erga te semper fuit, nec minime dum ego tacerem siluisse profiteri gestio. Historia tua Inquisitionis, ut de ea parte quam legi libere pronuntiem, mihi maxime placet: ordine,
S
methodo,

methodo, perspicuitate, testium fide mihi plane videtur opus absolutissimum, nec video quid in eo desiderari possit. Et ab omnibus quotquot consulere contigit maxime laudatur. Clericum nostrum nullas à me jam à pluribus hebdomadis (ut scribis) accepisse doleo; scripsi enim ad eum ante duos circiter menses, iis inclusas à Comite Pembrokiensi ad illum misi literas quas intercidisse vereor, quandoquidem D^{us} Clericus in novissimis suis 11 Septemb. datis de iis ne verbum quidem. Me illum de Spenceri obitu monuisse recte memini, & credo ea in epistola quandoquidem tu id hactenus ignorare videris. Bibliorum Castellionis editionem qualem tu narras apud vos designari valde lætor, & viris literatis apud nos gratum acceptumque fore opus non dubito: Post diurnam rusticationem nuperus meus in urbem reditus nondum mihi concessit plurimorum dictorum colloquia; prout datur occasio alios consulam, quamvis vix credi potest elegantem editionem tam elegantis versionis, notis etiam aliisque scriptis eo spectantibus tam docti viri ornatam, non omnibus non placituram. Filiam tuam dilectissimam quam febre continua laborasse scripseras tibi suisque sanam salvamque restitutam spero, reliquos tuos nostrosque recte valere gaudeo. Eos omnes quotquot sunt meo nomine rogo quam officiosissime salutes, quibus diurnam sanitatem & prospera omnia largiatur Deus optimus maximus; te imprimis sospitet. Vale, &, ut facis, perge me amare,

Lond. 10 Nov.

Tui amantissimum,

1693.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

QUalem te, Vir spectatissime, semper crediderim, talem re ipsa experior ad omnia infucatae amicitiae officia natum, qui non solum pronus in beneficia bene merendi nullam praetermittit occasionem, sed, quod difficilius est, eadem facilitate ignoscis amicorum delictis, qua alii offensiones objurgant. Diuturnum meum silentium graviori reprehensione dignum, simulac tardas tandem à me literas acceperis, quasi prima vocula penitus deletum condonas. Agnosco beneficium candoremque illum tuum, quo tuis, quo omnibus gratus, in quo me tuto repono: dum non ex literis amicitiam meam aestimas, nec silentio immutatam suspicatus fueris. Id enim tibi persuasum vellem, tempus mihi & verba deesse posse, amicitiam qua te amplector, qua semper amplexurus sum, mihi deesse vel labefactari nunquam posse.

In historia tua Inquisitionis, ex quo novissime ad te dedi literas, non magnos progressus feci, quotidianis negotiis haecenus impeditus. Quod si ex duobus primis libris, quos summa cum voluptate perlegi, de duobus reliquis judicare licet, nihil potest esse in eo genere perfectius, nec ad perfectam illius tribunalis cognitionem aliquid desiderari potest. Laudo studium tuum, quod plerisque in locis ipsa authorum verba citaveris, etsi nihil contineant quod tu brevior & elegantior stylo exprimere non potuisses, si lectori placere unica esset cura; sed cum quo genere hominum tibi res est recte tecum reputasti, & eorum crimina, fraudes & saevitia ex eorum ipsorum ore optime discenda, vix enim credi poterant, si ab

extraneo vel adversario afferrentur. Quæ autem ex aliis hauseris authoribus tam sero, ut editioni inferi suis apte in locis non potuerint, tuique in marginibus libri adscripseris, ea, si nimis longa non sint, ut tibi nimiam transcribendi creent molestiam, si mihi per otium excerpta transmittere velis, gratissimum mihi facies, ut meum etiam librum iis ornem, & suis omnibus numeris perfectum habeam, ut nihil desit huic mysterio iniquitatis revelando. Literas tuas per Hibernum illum transmissas ille suis manibus rus huc ad me profectus mihi tradidit. Talem illum reperio qualem tu descripseris, nec desunt hic tantæ spei fautores. Editionem illam Castellionis, quam meditantur, elegantem, libens viderem, & nostratibus gratam fore nullus dubito. Quod de Harmonia Evangelica doctissimi mei Toinardi ad me scribis, de editione illius ego quidem nunquam cogitavi, nec, quod amplius est, unquam cogitabo, nisi ut ipsum authorem ad opus suum luce dignissimum edendum, qua data occasione, & quantum possum, impellam & instigem. Non quod ego hunc thesaurum literato orbi invideam; ego summa ope, donec commercio literarum utilicuit, editionem ejus semper efflagitavi. Sed non ea (ut mihi visum est) fide mihi concreditum est hoc exemplar, ut ego harmoniam hanc, illo incscio aut inconsulto, typis mandarem. Si mihi integrum esset statim sub prælo mitterem, sed dum ille vivit, aut aliunde à suis spes est proditum, nulla quantivis pretii mercede è meis manibus in publicum elabi patiar. Nuper prodiit hic liber, quem Toinardo gratissimum fore scio. Si reperire possis viam qua ad illum transmitti potest, mihi feceris acceptissimum beneficium. Liber quem ad illum mittere vellem est *Joannes Mallela Antiocbenus* Oxonii non ita pridem editus. Si

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 277

occasionem mittendi reperias, emptum apud vos librum sive compactum sive incompactum, prout commodissimum erit vecturæ, quæso ad illum mittas, à *Monsieur Toinard à Orléans*. Gaudeo Veenium nostrum sanum saluumque in urbem & ad praxin rediisse. Vir qui in artis suæ exercitatione à juventute usque consenuerat, continui tædio otii credo languesceret. Illum & Guenellonem nostrum uxoresque cum tota familia quæso meo nomine officiosissime salutes. Pacem, concordiam, & amicitiam inter eos stabilitam spero, omnia fausta, uti par est, illis & tibi tuisque opto. Salutes etiam rogo optimam scæminam tuam, liberosque, quos sanos salvosque tibi Deus diu conservet. Vale, Vir humanissime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 13 Jan.
1694.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir colendissime,

ET si meam in scribendo tarditatem prorsus excusare nequeam, me tamen eo processisse negligentiae, ut per totos novem menses te infalutatum præterirem nolim credas. Diuturnum nimis silentium haud invitus fateor, quod cum nec literarum tuarum satietas, nec imminuta erga te voluntas mea effecerit, facilem apud te veniam inventurum spero. Puduit sane ad te iterum scribere antequam opere tuo penitus perlecto meam de eo sententiam sive potius gratulationem potuerim

rim perscribere. Quantum voluptatis, quantum lucis ex accurata tua Inquisitionis Historia perceperim vix dicere possum. Ita scripta est ut decet historiam scribi, ubi non ad fastum aut delectationem inventa vel ornata res est quo facilius incautis lectoribus fucum faciat, sed omnia authorum fide & documentorum testimoniis rata & suffulta sunt: adeo ut quorum maxime interest redarguere, ne hiscere quidem audeant. Opus illud tenebrarum & occultas nefandæ crudelitatis artes in tam claram lucem ex latibulis suis protraxisti, ut si qua restarent in istis ecclesiæ, sive potius Antichristi satellitibus, humanitatis vestigia, puderet illos tandem tam iniqui tam horrendi tribunalis, ubi omne jus, fas, & justitia susque deque habetur. Verum si hæc opprobria quæ refelli non possunt nihil illos moveant, reformatis saltem & ex sævissimo hoc ergastulo ereptis animos addet, contra tam inhumanam tyrannidem quacunque specie sive religionis siye concordiæ irrepere iterum conantem. Ea est disputantium sæpe contentio, ea argumentorum subtilitas & longa series, ut non sit uniuscujusque se argutiis & fallaciis innodatum expedire, & de summa controversiæ judicare. Si quis vero è plebe indoctus tuam perlegat historiam, sentiat statim illic certe deesse religionem, charitatem, justitiam, ubi violata æquitatis regula, omnique juris dicendi per orbem terrarum methodo, tam inhumana, tam crudelia perpetrantur, & ab Evangelii genio remotissima: ideoque dignum opus existimo quod in cujusque gentis linguam vulgarem traducatur, tam distincta enim & exacta methodo omnia tradidisti, & testibus exceptione majoribus confirmasti, ut nihil in eo desiderari videatur, quod vulgus erudiat, literatos instruat, omnesque stabiliat. Si quid forte tibi, uti mones, occurrat ad hoc argumentum pertinens

ex libris ante editam historiam tuam non visis, rogo ut per otium, si non sit nimis operosum, ad me velis transmittere; omnia enim huc facientia in librum tuum ad marginem aptis in locis adscripta conjicere animus est, uti nuper ex itinerario in orientem hoc quod sequitur excerptum, paginæ 276. libri tui inserui.

Le St. Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ses injustices, & ses cruautés, régné ici [à Malthe] plus tyranniquement qu'à Rome même, & on m'a fait cent funestes recits, dont je vous épargnerai la tristesse, seulement vous dirai-je, que les Confesseurs, qui par tout ailleurs sont tenus de garder le secret sur peine du feu, sont ici dans l'obligation de les révéler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas d'Inquisition, quoiqu'ils ne l'avouent pas, car se seroit le moyen d'empêcher les gens de se confesser: mais c'est une chose qu'on sçait pourtant bien. Cependant pour en ôter tout soupçon, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux sans dire mot après quoi l'Inquisiteur envoie prendre un homme & lui demande s'il sçait bien pourquoi il l'a fait saisir, alors c'est à lui de se ressouvenir de tout ce qu'il peut jamais avoir dit; que si malheureusement la mémoire ne lui fournit pas, ou que le délit, dont il est coupable, ait été si secret que le seul Confesseur en ait en connoissance, & que se reposant là-dessus il ne veuille pas avouer; c'est fait de cet homme-là, on l'étrangle dans la prison, & puis quelque tems après on dit à ses parens qu'il n'est pas besoin de lui porter à manger. Heureux sont ceux qui ne sont point assujettis à ce joug. Du Mont nouveau Voyage au Levant $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{2}{7}$, imprimé en 12°. à la Haye, 1694.

Quas minatus es prolixiores literas avide expecto, & si sic ulciscaris silentium meum, quomodo remuneraberis diligentiam? Theologiam tuam tam brevi iterum prodituram gaudeo, pauca in ea emendanda facile crediderim; quanta quanta addideris in eodem erunt fonte, & augebunt apud lectores pretium. In magna æstimatione apud ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Theologos scio. Quid in posterum futurum sit nescio, audio enim nonnullos Calvinismum amplexuros & prædestinationem (sic inter illos convenit) palam scriptis propugnatos. Quot & quales in partes suas pertrahet nova hæc paucorum & adhuc privata societas, nondum conjicere licet. Latent omnia & secreto peraguntur, & si ex auctoribus, quorum nomina mihi amicus quidam secreto in aurem dixit, rem metiri libeat, non credo longe evasurum, nisi aliunde oriatur hoc consilium, aliosque habeat fautores. Si quid ultra privata aliquot inter se colloquia producat, hoc nonnullorum molimen dies indicabit, & tunc quid velint, quo tendant rectius judicabimus. Sed hæc hætenus. Dolet certe tantam inter nos loci esse intercapedinem; si vicinus essem haberes me consultorem quotidie ostia tua pulsantem. Pauci admodum sunt limati iudicii homines quibuscum poteris libere de speculationibus quibuscumque, multo minus de rebus religionis differere. Deest mutua charitas, deest candor, & ut suæ quisque ignorantiae velum obtendat, non facile dat veniam alienæ. Nec dubia quæcunque licet proponere, nisi paratus venias te totum illis tradere, & in verba jurare, vel censuris onustus hæreticus abire. Non hoc de meipso queror tanquam aliquid passus ab iniquo amicorum iudicio; sed tamen jucundum est in proximo habere quem de maximis minimisque aperte

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& audacter consulas. Libri mei de Intellectu humano secunda editio distrahitur celerius quam credere possem, nec adhuc invenit dissertatio illa utcumque heterodoxa oppugnatorem. Utinam eo esset sermone conscripta, ut tuo uti de universis eo in opere contentis iudicio liceret. Urgent aliqui versionem, quærit traductorem Bibliopola, & sperat brevi repertum iri, nam mihi non vacat. Vix per valetudinem & succrescentia quotidie negotia licuit mihi, nisi lento gradu & intercisis temporibus, tuam perlegere historiam, quanquam legendi voluptas me vix patiebatur ingressum avelli. Bibliopola efflagitat tamen ut versionem recensere velim, ut si qua à meo sensu aberraverit corrigam, quod sane vix recusare possum. Sed quid his te tædio prolixioris epistolæ jam fatigatum detineo? Vale, & ut facis, me ama

Oates, 26 Oct.
1694.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Magna cum voluptate tuas accepi & legi: etsi enim affectum erga me tuum nullatenus fuisse imminutum plene persuasus essem, nihilominus post tam diuturnum silentium literas tuas videre non potuit non esse gratissimum. Historiam meam Inquisitionis calculo tuo probari, est quod mihi gratulor. Scio iudicium tuum esse candidum ac limatissimum. In præconiis vero quæ

quæ addis agnosco propensissimum tuum erga me affectum, qui omnia quæ probas vero majora tibi repræsentavit. Ego veritati litare studui, & tribunal illud ita exhibere, prout ipsi doctores pontificii, imo inquisitores id nobis depingunt. Scio quidem, quando sparsim in ipsorum libris procedendi modus describitur, & fucatis coloribus palliatur, non ita patere ejus injustitiam & coeditatem, quam quando omnia simul inter se connexa nude, sine fuce, omnium oculis exponuntur. Non crediderim quemquam, ne quidem ex acerrimis inquisitionis patronis, me malæ fidei insimulaturum; & si quis id ausit, statim autorum, quorum nomina margini passim adscripsi, testimoniis redargui poterit. Sed quam dispari fato libri prædeunt? Tu historiam meam dignam judicas quæ in cujusque gentis linguam vernaculam traducatur. Romæ vero 19 die Maii hujus anni, edicto Cardinalium, in tota rep. christiana inquisitorum generalium condemnata est, ejusque lectio severissime prohibita sub pœnis in indice librorum prohibitorum contentis. Decretum hoc, quo & alii libri condemnantur, triduo post, videl. 22 Maii, fuit publicatum & affixum ad valvas Basilicæ principis apostolorum, palatii S. Officii, & in acie campi Floræ, ac aliis locis solitis & consuetis urbis. Sed mitiorem sententiam quis ab Inquisitione expectet, contra historiam, quæ artes ac crudelitates ipsius, quas occultas omnibusque ignotas esse cupit, à tenebris erutas palam totius mundi oculis exponit, tribunalque hoc non sanctitate venerandum, sed injustitia, crudelitate, fraudibus, & imposturis execrandum exhibet? Aliiter enim, si vere describatur, exhiberi nequit. Quæ ego ex aliis autoribus, quos postmodum mihi videre contigit, annotavi, & quæ in posterum in aliis, qui forte mihi ostendentur reperiam,

liben-

libentissime ad te mittam. Vidi quæ ex itineralio Du Mont annotâsti, quæ optime illo quem designâsti loco margini historiæ meæ adscribi possunt. Sed, ut ingenue dicam, valde dubito an narratio illius vera sit. Malæ fidei ipsum nequam accuso: sed fieri facile potest, ut peregrinatores non diu in regione aliqua commorantes, incidant in homines legum & consuetudinum patriarum non admodum peritos, nonnunquam etiam mendaces, ex quorum ore quædam veritati minus consentanea sine accuratiore investigatione annotant. Qualia multa in itinerariis eorum, qui patriæ nostræ mores & consuetudines describunt, observavi. Ratio dubitandi est: quia video omnes doctores pontificios, nec non omnia decreta ecclesiastica solícite admodum urgere, arcana confessionis non esse patefacienda; imo ne hæresin quidem sub sigillo confessionis revelatam; solummodo sacerdotibus injungunt, ne hæresin confessio absolutionem impertiantur, sed omnibus quas possunt rationibus hortentur, ut in judicio coram inquisitoribus juridice confiteatur. Scio quidem non omnia quæ legibus præcipiuntur exacte in praxi Inquisitionis observari, & sub specioso confessionis non revelandæ prætextu simpliciores inescari posse, ut ingenue, etiam quæ inquisitoribus ignota sunt, confiteantur, quæ à sacerdotibus porro inquisitoribus revelari possunt, neque à tali impostura tribunalis illius sanctitatem abhorreere credo: attamen quia omnes ipsorum constitutiones, instructiones & leges, omnia illius ecclesiæ decreta contrarium præcipiunt, non id affirmare ausim, nisi autor sit probatus, cujus nec peritia nec fides in dubium vocari queat. Quare loco quem mihi suggessisti ex itineralio Du Mont, addi posset, si vera sit illius narratio, exinde evidentè liquere inquisitorum praxin sæpe adversari inquisitionis instructionibus

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nibus & legibus: inquisitoresque unice tantum spectare, qua ratione miseros captivos per fas & nefas decipiant, atque ita fraudibus irretitos misera morte perdant. Post hasce scriptas tristis me de subita optimi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis morte nuncius non leviter perculit. Destinaveram ipsi Theologiæ meæ Christianæ exemplar; pridie autem antequam tradi potuerit mortuus est. Ecclesiæ reformatæ tanto patrono, tam prudenti, perito, pacis amantissimo antistiti orbatæ statum doleo. Utinam Deus, qui potens est etiam è lapidibus Abrahæ filios excitare, alium nobis substituat; illi si non parem, quod vix sperare ausim, tamen vestigia ejus, quantum fieri potest, proxime prementem! Ille tibi & Dominæ Masham vitam ad seros usque annos producat. Vale, & me, ut facis, amare non desine

Amstelod. 12 Dec.

Tui amantissimum,

1694.

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Librum tuum à bibliopola & epistolam tuam 12 datam recte accepi, utrumque gratissimum, & quia tuum, & quia à te. Epistolam tuam à capite ad calcem summa cum voluptate perlegi, gratulorque filiæ tuæ nuperæ talem illi obtigisse patrem cui nec mens defuit, nec viscera. Qualis inde fuit nonnullorum animus christiano homini esset mirandum, nisi inter hujusmodi zelotas christianæ religionis diu versatus essem. Sed
ubique

ubique ejusdem farinae homines reperire est, qui an salutem quærant animarum, an evangelio quæstum faciant judicent alii; ego, quod doleam, quod indigner, hic illic undique video. Theologiam tuam Christianam quamprimum otium nactus fuero diligentius perscrutabor, his enim jam fere studiis mihi vacandum censeo, tantoque impensius me tibi vicinum jam opto, quod erepto nobis magno illo & candido veritatis indagatore (ut cæteras illius virtutes taceam) vix jam habeo quem de dubiis theologicis libere possum consulere. Quantum virum respublica Anglicana, quantum columen ecclesia reformata amiserit alii judicabunt. Ego certe à multis annis stabilem, candidum, sincerum summo meo cum damno & desiderio amisi amicum.

Addenda tua ad Historiam Inquisitionis quamprimum rus rediero locis suis inferam, novum amicitiae tuæ monumentum. Recte mones de excerptis ex itineraio Du Mont. Nec enim ut reliqui tui scriptores (qua usus es cautione) pro teste citari potest, tum quia reformatus, tum quia peregrinus. Ego vero illius verba non inidonea judicabam, quæ fidem facerent isti quæ ex tota pontificiorum œconomia enascitur: illos scil. quicquid præ se ferant, non omisso tantam rei suæ bene gerendæ & hæreseos extirpandæ occasionem, quæ ex confessionibus possit oriri: nec aliter confessiones tacitas esse, si quid habeant momenti, quam ut laicis & quibus non opus esset, non evulgarentur. Hæc ego raptim inter urbis negotia & laborantium pulmonum anhelitus, ut scires tua munera quibus me tam magnifice cumulasti ad me salva pervenisse. Si ita silentium meum ulciscaris, dubitari possit an non commodum fuerit peccare: scias enim velim de tuis epistolis quod de Ciceronis orationibus jure dici posse, optimam
est

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esse quæ longissima est. Die Veneris novissimo ad urbem appuli, in hospitio meo inveni literas Clerici nostri 7 datas, quibus brevi responsurus sum; interim rogo ut illum Guenellonemque nostrum meo nomine salutes; utrique gratias agam pro epistolis mea manu ubi otium & solatium ruris nactus fuero, hic enim laborant pulmones, nec longam in urbe patietur valetudo mea moram. Uxorem tuam dilectissimam liberosque, Veenium nostrum optimamque uxorem illius saluto & Grævium Ultrajectensem, cui ego debeo epistolam, & illius humanitati nondum respondisse pudet. Vale, & perge, ut facis, me amare,

Lond. 11 Dec.

Tui amantissimum,

1694.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amantissime,

ULtimam meam epistolam recte ad manus tuas pervenisse gaudeo. Autographum sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanæ Romani in manus meas incidisse mirantur: quod N. N. sacerdos quidam ab episcopo Hollandiæ ad ipsum missus ut libri possessorem ex ipso resciscat, affirmavit. N. N. imprudenter me eum à Furlæo accepisse respondit: verum alium ejus esse possessorem, cujus nomen ignorabat; aiebatque librum à te olim visum Monspeliis. Ego dixi N. N. librum à te in Gallia visum alium esse ab hoc. Addit ille, sacerdotem rogasse, ut ex me nomen pos-

possessoris exquirat. Respondi ego, me nomen illius ignorare; illud semel me ex fratre ipsius audivisse, sed penitus illius oblitum esse: & licet scirem, inconsultum esse illud sacerdoti indicare; quia hoc tam solícite inquiri judicem, ut possessore detecto, ingenti pretio exemplar hoc sibi redimant, ac Romam mittant, ut ita occasionem habeant me falsi accusandi. Idem sibi videri aiebat. Addidi ego, optasse me, ut nomen Furlæi non indicasset: sed quoniam vox emissâ reverti nequit, nihil ulterius esse aperiendum; sed paucis tantum respondendum me possessoris nomen ignorare. Hoc in se suscepit, sed non recte servavit; nam ex fratre suo postea nomen hoc rescivit, & proculdubio sacerdoti indicavit. Nam à me rogatus, se nescire ait, an indicaverit; affirmare se non posse, nec quod indicaverit, nec quod non indicaverit. Hoc certum est, nomen sacerdoti innotuisse, quia alius postea Furlæum, ad quem hæc scripseram, accessit, & possessorem nominavit, prout tibi Furlæus scripsit. Spero librum à te jam emptum, ac Furlæum illius esse possessorem. Ita omnes illorum conatus irriti erunt. Laudo ego Furlæi prudentiam, quod à sacerdote testimonium de libri authenticâ exegerit, & sacerdotis candorem, qui id tam luculenter dedit. Interim si forte exemplar ipsam nacti fuissent, & Romam misissent, non video qua ratione volumen quod edidi supposititium dicere possent. Adeo enim ævum illud barbarum redolet, historiaeque singulares illius temporis refert, ut tale quid à quoquam nunc temporis fingi minime queat. Præstat tamen id in manibus non esse illorum, quorum interest mysteria hæc iniquitatis tegi, & coram sole non propalari. Vides hic duo adhuc additamenta ad Historiam Inquisitionis epistolæ huic adscripta, quæ si operæ pretium

tium videatur, reliquis junges. Lutheranus quidam professor Kilonienſis contra Theologiam meam Chriſtianam Exercitationes Anti-Limborchianas edidit. Ita Romæ & in Germania vapo- pulo. Librum ſatis, ut audio, craſſum nondum vidi; ſed in Actis Lipſienſibus ejus compendium legi. Verum in ejuſmodi antagoniſtam ego calamum non ſtringam. Non pugnant illi homines, quantum ex Actis illis mihi colligere licet, pro veritate; ſed pro recepta opinione, decretis humanis, & autoritate eccleſiaſtica. Orthodoxiæ illis norma eſt conſenſus cum doctrina Lutherana. Contra tales fruſtra diſputatur. Non enim operæ pretium eſt, ut inquiramus quid eccleſia Lutherana doceat, quod ex libris & decretis illius eccleſiæ ſatis notum eſt; ſed, an illius doctrina vera ſit, & à ſcriptoribus divinis dictata. Ita papatum ubique reperimus, & ſub ſpecioſo orthodoxiæ conſervandæ prætextu propria dominatio ſtabilitur. Sic orthodoxia ſemper penes potentiorẽ erit, veritasque alia erit Romæ, alia Genevæ, alia Wittenbergæ. Hæc incommoda vitari nequeunt, ſi humana placita orthodoxiæ *κει-
τηριον* ſunt. Quæ in illis Exercitationibus maxime odioſa occurrunt Lipſienſes accurate annotârunt. Obſervavi hanc in illis malignitatem dicam an inconſultum zelum, quod ſi in autoribus quos recensent quædam reperiantur aut convitia, aut inclementius in Remonſtrantes dicta, ea ſolicite indicare ſoleant, verbisque odioſiſſimis exprimere. Nefcio quo ſuo factõ Remonſtrantes inimicitiam eorum in ſe provocaverint, niſi forſan liberiore veritatis inquiſitione, & diſſentientium fraternã tolerantia. In ipſos enim calamum nunquam ſtrinximus, neque ego in eos ſcribam, aut me à criminationibus eorum purgabo; non enim me illis purgatum dabo, niſi me aliis, quibus jam placeo,

placeo, ingratum reddam. Itaque silentio & contemptu illos ulciscar. Sed aliud quid est quod te velim. Marcus Teuto in gratiam reverendissimi Bathoniensis ac Wellensis in se suscepit versionem vitæ Episcopii à me conscriptæ in linguam latinam. Varia ego citavi ex epistolis ecclesiasticis præstantium ac eruditorum virorum, & ex actis remonstrantium synodalibus, quæ cum à me è latino in belgicum sermonem translata sint, ipse è belgico in latinum vertere non debet, sed prout in ipsis libris latine leguntur exhibere. Destitutum autem se illis queritur, nec usquam se eos reperire posse. Non dubito quin in multorum Anglorum bibliothecis reperiantur. Si tua opera eos habere possit à quopiam, magnum illi non tantum facies laboris compendium, sed & versionem efficies & meliorem & gratiorem. Ego, si quid hac in parte illi prodesse queas, mihi præstitum agnoscam. Vale, Vir amplissime, mihiq; dilectissime,

Amstelod.

26 Apr. 1695.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Quamprimum ego novissimas tuas 26 Aprilis datas acceperam, statim Londinum scripsi, & quantum in me est curavi, ut libri quos ad opus suum desiderat Marcus ille noster, sicubi reperiri possint, ei suppeditentur. Eo diutius responsum distuli, ut quid in hoc & altero illo negotio Tho-

T

losano

losano factum sit certiore te facerem; sed nec D'Aranda, nec alter cujus curæ librorum perquisitionem commisi, hætenus quicquam rescripserunt, sed ex eorum silentio nolim ego male ominari.

De autographo, an Furleii jam sit, rectius ex ipso quam ex me cognosces: non quod ego negligens ea in re vel otiosus fuerim procurator; sed cum per valetudinem Londinum ea tempestate adire non auderem, totum negotium amico nostrum communi commisi, viro prudenti & sedulo, cui scirem rem cordi fore; & ne mora circuitu literarum per manus meas transeuntium officeret, post primum quod ab amico Londinensi accepi responsum, quo intellexi illum omnem navaturum operam ut rem transigeret, monui ut recte ad Furleium scriberet, ut ex illo resciret quod scitu ad rem recte perficiendam adhuc opus esset. Hoc ab eo factum nullus dubito: si quid amplius à me præstari possit, omnem operam, curam, industriam me in eo locaturum pro certo habeas.

Quod de Oxoniensibus nostris dicis quanquam nihil fando audiverim facile crediderim: quod Kiloniensem adversarium negligis laudo, quodque ab aliis inter se dissentientibus vapulas tanto magis æstimo, veritatis enim sinceris & incorruptis authoribus sic fieri solet. Pro Theologia tua Christiana jam denuo à me tibi reddendæ sunt gratiæ, non quod bibliothecam volumine, sed me scientia auxerit. Hac enim hyeme in quo consisteret fides christiana diligenter apud me cogitando ex ipsis scripturæ s. fontibus hauriendum duxi, semotis quibuscunque sectarum & systematum opinionibus & orthodoxiis. Ex intenta & accurata N. Testamenti lectione novi foederis status & evangelii doctrina mihi apparuit, ut mihi videbatur, meridiana luce clarius, nec quid esset fides christiana dubi-

dubitari posse sincero evangelii lectori mihi persuasissimum est. Ideoque cogitata mea in char- tam conjeci, ut eo melius partium inter se convenientiam & harmoniam, & fundamenta quibus inniterentur, sedate & per otium contemplerer. Cum omnia in hoc meo symbolo sana & verbo divino ubique conformia videbantur, theologos consulendos duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide senserint viderem. Calvinum adii, Turretinum aliosque, quos ita id argumentum tractasse fateri cogor, ut quid dicant, quid velint capere nequaquam possim; adeo dissiona mihi in illis omnia videntur à sensu & simplicitate evangelica, ut illorum scripta intelligere nedum cum sacro codice reconciliare non valeam. Tandem spe meliore tuam in manus cepi Theologiam, nec sine summo gaudio legi cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquem reperiri theologum cui ego non plane essem hæreticus. Ut in libro tuo legendo ultra pergerem nondum satis vacui temporis nactus sum. Nihil mihi optatius esse possit quam te videre, & te coram quæ commentatus sum legere & explicare, ut limato & incorrupto tuo judicio subicerentur. Hæc tibi in aurem dicta sunto, nam me hoc tractasse argumentum tibi soli communicatum volo. Saluto Veenios, Guenellones tuamque imprimis familiam. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 10 Maii,

Tui amantissimum,

1695.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

UTri nostrum diuturnum ac pertinax illud silentium imputandum sit, ignoro. Importunus sim, si à te negotiis publicis occupatissimo ad singulas meas responsum efflagitem, aut silentium tuum silentio ulciscar. Amicitia sincera rigorem illum averfatur, neque epistolarum æquali numero, sed fide ac charitate mutua constat. Interim dulcissimo consuetudinis nostræ fructu jam ultra annum carui. Ultimæ enim tuæ, quibus me respondisse memini, decimo Maii die anni præcedentis scriptæ sunt. Salutem mihi à te aliquoties dixerunt D. D. Clericus & Guenellonus, & literas mihi à te brevi scribendas nuntiârunt, quas tamen hactenus frustra expectavi; hoc autem negotiorum tuorum, quibus obrutus es, frequentiae unice adscribendum duco. Aliquoties tibi scribere gestii; sed veritus sum, ne importunior scriptio ab amico occupatissimo responsum minus tempestivum extorquere videretur. Nunc vero, cum munus tibi honoratissimum à primoribus Angliæ demandatum esse constans ad nos fama pertulit; silentium abruptum censui, ut dignitatem hanc non tam tibi quam Angliæ gratuler, quæ in collegio amplissimo una cum summis regni proceribus te assessorem habet, cujus consilia omnia prudentia, fide, candore ac sinceritate diriguntur, & communi civium saluti unice destinantur. Deus vitam tibi largiatur longævam, consiliisque tuis successum quem merentur concedat. Ego hic occupatus vivo; & tamen vix quicquam promoveo, non aliter ac si otio desidio torperem. Arminii scripta inedita
me

me occupatum tenent: promisi ego bibliopolæ Germano, me ea paraturum ad editionem; sed in scriptis ejus relegendis, ob characterum exilitatem & ductum lectu neutiquam commodum, tantam reperio difficultatem, ut, nisi tanti viri memoria, & non exigua quam inde ad publicum redituram video utilitas, ingrati laboris molestiam levaret, jam operæ promissæ pœnituisset. Hoc opus ubi edidero, nullis amplius posthumis aliorum operibus edendis me fatigabo. Oculorum acies sæpissime intendenda est ut characteres exiles, & vetustate multis in locis ferme evanescentes legantur. Ita multum temporis impendo, non tamen eo cum fructu, qui temporis diuturnitatem compensare possit. Sed quoniam alea jacta est, pergendum est. Prodebunt de novo prælectiones in Jonam & Malachiam, quibus annectitur disputatio contra Judæos, in posteriorem ad Thessalonicenses, in secundum & tertium caput Apocalypseos; & disputatio contra Cardinalem Perronium: quæ cum opusculis antehac editis justum conficiant volumen. Præmisit D. Caspar Brantius prolixiorē vitæ Arminii historiam, quæ multa hactenus exteris ignota continebit. Prodiit nuper apud nos tractatus Anglici, *quod Religio Christiana, qualis nobis est representata in scriptura sacra, sit summe rationalis*, versio Gallica. Illius autorem volunt multi esse amicum meum. Ego respondeo, mihi nihil de eo constare; & cum autor, quisquis ille sit, latere vult, nostrum non esse conjecturis, ut plurimum fallacibus, indulgere. Ego summa cum voluptate lectioni illius incumbo, & in præcipuo (quod toto libro, de fidei christianæ objecto tractat) argumento illi prorsus assentior. Hoc recte percepto, gravissimas ac acerbissimas in ecclesia christiana disputationes feliciter componi posse puto; saltem ecclesiæ, non obstante opinionum diver-

fitate, pacem facili negotio posse restitui: ea enim quæ nunc à plerisque ut unicum ferme christianismi fundamentum urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendendi planum fiet. Quod unicum anathematismis, schismatibus, & odiis tollendis remedium est. Ego, ut videas me attente tractatum hunc legere, omniaque argumenta exacte ponderare, non possum, quin tibi observationem quandam indicem, quæ licet forte non magni videri posset esse momenti, tamen argumento auctoris quo utitur pondus aliquod afferre potest. Cap. iv. autor ad suæ sententiæ stabilimentum adducit locum ex 2 epist. Joan. ver. 7. quem optime ab ipso allegatum judico: verum versio Gallica ita eum exhibet, ut, me iudice, non exacte exprimat sensum qui in Græco extat, quique sententiam auctoris validius confirmat. Qua ratione eum Anglice expresse- rit autor, ignoro. Gallice autem ita extat: *Que plusieurs imposteurs se sont élevez dans le monde, lesquels ne confessent point, que Jesus, le Messie, soit venu en chair*: Quæ sensum hunc continere videntur, quod impostores hi non confessi sunt, quod Jesus, qui est Messias, venerit in carne. Græcus autem textus ita habet: "Οτι πολλοί πλάνοι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογῶντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Quæ posteriora verba ego verito, non, *qui non confitentur Jesum*, qui est Christus seu Messias, *in carne venisse*; sed, *qui non confitentur Jesum Messiam qui in carne venit*: non enim est infinitivus in Græco, sed participium. Hic sensus est longe alius, & auctoris hujus scopo multo accommodatior. Priore enim sensu hæc esse impostorum falsa doctrina arguitur, quod non confiteantur Jesum, qui est Messias, in carne venisse. Inde sequeretur, quod qui confitetur Jesum, de quo Johannes affirmat quod sit Messias (vox enim *Χεὺς δὲ* per appositionem hoc sensu est legenda) in carne

carne venisse, maneat in doctrina Christi, ut est ver. 9. Atqui multi qui non credebant Jesum esse Messiam, credebant tamen Jesum, qui Messias est, in carne venisse. Si posteriore sensu vertantur, tum sensus est, impostores non confiteri Jesum Christum qui in carne venit; hoc est, non confiteri quod ille Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Confiteri enim Jesum Messiam, est confiteri quod Jesus sit Messias, seque illius discipulum profiteri; juxta Matth. x. 32. Illum autem Jesum, quem confiteri oportet, describit Joannes, quod sit ille qui in carne venit, & inter Judæos versatus est. Inde sequitur, quod ille in doctrina Christi maneat, qui confitetur quod Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Et hæc est sincera fidei in Christum confessio. Eundem esse sensum puto, 1 Joan. iv. 2, 3. ubi similiter non reperitur infinitivus, sed participium ἐληλυθότα. Non est quidem hæc observatio tanti in hoc negotio, facit tamen ad genuinam textus Græci intelligentiam, & auctoris instituto favet. In aliis autem disputationibus, quæ cum Mennonitis nostratibus instituuntur, maximi est usus. Sed tempus est ut abrum-pam. Vides tibi cum homine loquace rem esse, qui, cum literis suis te compellat, calamo impere non potest. Vale, Vir amplissime, & feliciter age.

Amstelod.

1696.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,

S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

SI omnes in religione eo uterentur candore quo tu usus es in amicitia, non majorem offensio- nem inter dissentientes parerent argumenta, quam inter nos nuper peperit diuturnum nimis silentium. Si epistolarum reciprocationem æstimem, an tua major taciturnitas an mea dicere non auserim, credo me ea ex parte peccasse. Ea vero utcumque se res habeat, tu certe humanitate tua & ignoscendo prior effecisti, ut culpa omnino mea sit, eoque magis probrosam mihi sentio, quod tu & levissima quidem reprehensione abstinuisti; negotiorum excu- satione qua pro me apud te usus es, aliquid mo- menti erga alium habere potuisset, certe tibi me eo nonine excusatum nolim; addere etiam pote- ram valetudinem tota præterita hyeme valde in- commodam. Sed nec hoc quidem, quo minus tam charo tam fido amico scriberem, impedimento esse non debuit. Vis rem ipsam ut tibi scriberem, semper quæro tempus omnino vacuum, animum- que ab alijs curijs & cogitationibus liberum; hoc cum raro accidit ita ad voluntatem, ut non ad aliud & magis oportuno tempus rejiciam, de die in diem differendo annus elabitur, & tandem pudor culpæ superveniens tardiores reddit. Si hoc ig- navia latebram dicas, non recuso, hoc certo scio imminutæ amicitia, vel mutata voluntatis non esse crimen; & forsan, ut omnia fatear, non expe- ditus linguæ Latinæ usus fastidium menti non bene se explicanti oggerit. Sed tua amicitia & bene- volentia, Vir amplissime, omnia superat. Gratu- lationem tuam eo quo tu scripsisti animo, id est, amicissimo, accipio: sed quid tandem mihi se- nectutis

nectutis & valetudinis onere succumbenti cum negotiorum publicorum tumultu? Secessus mihi jam quærendus esset, & vel annis vel studiis meis quies. Hoc, si mihi credas, & magis aveo, & mihi magis accommodatum credo; sed nescio quo fato quod alius ambitiose & frustra quærit, alii vel inscio vel etiam detrectanti tribuitur. Viri istius magni scripta inedita tua opera proditura gratulor reipub. christianæ. De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verso, cujus lectioni cum ad me scripseras incubuisti, idem tecum sentio, contentionum & schismatum radices evellit quantum id potest religionis christianæ veritas & fundamentum, si id auctor recte explicuerit, ut mihi videtur; cum vero totum perlegeris, & tuam & aliorum de tractatu illo sententiam scire vellem. Theologis nostris tam conformistis quam non-conformistis displicere audio, reliqui ut sit probant improbantve, prout suo vel alieno innituntur judicio. Quod monuisti de loco Johannis tecum sentio: idem est in versione nostra, quem in Gallica observasti, error; sed ad rem facit, verum apposite magis textus Græcus, quem tu rectissime ut mihi videtur interpretaris. Vale, Vir amplissime, & me ama

Lond. 3 Sept.

1696.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.



JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Cltius tuis, decimo quinto demum Octobris die mihi redditis, respondissem, verum quoniam judicium meum de tractatu Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verso petiisti, tempus à reliquis curis vacuum quæsi, ut tractatum illum elegantissimum uno tenore perlegere, omniaque illo contenta considerare & expendere possem. Maxime mihi opportunum videbatur tempus hoc hybernum, quo ab exercitiis academicis feriari solemus; sed & illud frigore suo acutissimo non leviter impetum scribendi remoratum est. Legi totum tractatum à capite ad calcem; nec unica lectione contentus, eum relegi. Interim huc perlatus est Actorum Lipsiensium mensis October, quo compendium tractatus illius pro doctorum illorum more nobis exhibetur. Primo aiunt autoris illius Pockii nomen esse dici (credo eos incerto rumori temere fidem adhibuisse, & in nomine una aberrasse litera) tum compendio quod confecere omnia quibus aliquam autori invidiam constari posse putant sedulo enumerant, ut systematum theologorum contemptum ulcisci velle videantur. Extollunt magnifice Joannem Eduardum, quod præclare hactenus in Anglia contra Socinianam hæresin variis scriptis militaverit, librumque ediderit Meditationum quarundam de causis & occasione atheismi, hodierni præsertim sæculi; in quo passim autoris hujus anonymi sententias, ut periculosas & à socinianismo ac atheismo non alienas perstrinxit. Subjungunt hisce compendium duorum scriptorum, quorum alterum brevis pro tractatu

tractatu illo est Apologia; alterum Joannis Eduardi, titulo, *Socinianism Unmask'd*. Tu illos tractatus rectius me nôsti. Videntur dolere, quod meditationes Eduardi ipsis ad manum non fuerint; alias & illarum compendium habuissimus. Systema theologiæ me scripsisse nôsti: non tamen eo in pretio apud me systemata sunt, ut non hunc exiguum tractatum multis systematibus præferam; imo plus veræ theologiæ ex illo quam ex operosis multorum systematibus hausisse me ingenue profiteor. Sed vero theologiam autor ille tradit nimis facilem nimis laxam, quæ salutem angustis humanorum decretorum vinculis alligatam minime cupit; nec orthodoxiam ex sectarum confessionibus, sed solo verbo divino arcessit. Hoc crimen est quod socinianismi & atheismi infami convitio à doctoribus systematicis traduci meretur: non aliter ac si, qui humana placita religiose adorare recusant, eo ipso omnem religionem ejurare censendi essent. Ego autoris in hoc tractatu scopum summopere laudo; scopum suum feliciter affecutum esse, solideque ipsum quod intendit probasse judico. Imprimis placent mihi duo: methodus accurata historiæ evangelicæ, quam cap. ix. tradit, & per quam varia loca in evangeliiis, in speciem obscura, feliciter admodum interpretatur: & perspicua illa deductio argumentorum, quibus ostendit cur D. Jesus Christus in terris degens, non expressis verbis docuerit se esse Messiam. Hæc autori huic peculiariora sunt, ipsiusque judicium ingenique perspicaciam clare demonstrant. In iis autem plurima sunt, quibus præcipuum libri sui argumentum, quod est, fidem quod Jesus sit Christus, eam esse per quam justificamur, luculenter confirmat. Habes hic judicium meum de tractatu hoc, quem & tertio relegere statui. Petis autem ut si quædam in illius lectione observarem tibi scri-

scriberem. Ego in tractatu adeo eximio vix quicquam quod tibi proponi meretur observavi; ita sibi penitus me habet assentientem, ut exigua sint quæ observaverim, quæque principali ipsius scopo nihil officiunt, & quæ forsitan à me non plene intellecta sunt. Quia vero iudicium meum requiris, ego hæc qualiacunque tibi expendenda propono; non quia alicujus pretii sunt, sed ut morem geram tuæ voluntati. Statim in initio autor dicit, super lapsu Adami fundatam esse doctrinam de Redemptione. Equidem certum est, lapsum Adami à doctrina de redemptione non excludi: attamen & propria cujusque nostrum peccata ab ea secludenda non sunt. Plurimorum doctorum sententia est, Dominum Jesum nos liberâsse è miseria in quam per Adami peccatum incidimus, & in eundem felicitatis statum, quem in Adamo amisimus, restituisse. Ego puto illos exiliter nimium de immenso Christi beneficio sentire, ipsumque ex multis peccatis, ut Apostolus, Rom. v. loquitur, nos liberâsse, & ad statum multo feliciorum, vitam nempe æternam in cœlis perduxisse. Huic addo: quod ibidem dicatur, Adamum per peccatum amisisse immortalitatem, & factum esse mortalem. Si immortalitas auctori huic significet, quod Adamus si non peccâisset, moriturus non fuisset, & mortalitas, quod per peccatum necessitatem moriendi contraxerit; verissimam ejus sententiam judico. Si vero immortalitas, ut vox illa proprie sonat, illi significet moriendi impossibilitatem, non recte dici puto Adamum fuisse creatum immortalem. Ego sententiam meam plenius explicui in Theologia mea Christiana, lib. ii. cap. 24. Verum hæc immortalitas, hoc est, immunitas à morte, alterius plane est generis quam immortalitas Dei: sicut & mortalitas, seu moriendi potentia, multum differt à morte, seu moriendi necessitate.

cessitate. Quare etiam minus commode mihi dictum videtur, p. 230. quod Adami immortalitas sit imago Dei ad quam conditus est: & licet concederetur, alibi immortalitatem vocari imaginem Dei, non tamen exinde sequeretur, quando Adamus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, illam imaginem esse immortalitatem: non enim necesse est, omnia quæ alibi scriptura imagine Dei designat, ea comprehensa esse quando hominem ad imaginem Dei conditum dicit: sufficit eximiam quandam in homine esse qualitatem, respectu cuius imaginem Dei referre dici possit. Inter alia loca video, p. 232. citari ad Rom. cap. viii. 29. ubi dicimur à Deo præcogniti & prædestinati, *ut simus conformes imagini filii ejus, ut ipse sit primogenitus inter multos fratres.* Putat autor illa imagine cui conformes esse debemus designari immortalitatem & vitam æternam. Ego autem non tam vitam æternam quam modum ad vitam æternam perveniendi, quo fideles Christi similes esse debent, hic significari credo, nimirum per crucem & afflictiones: quam imaginem Dominus discipulis indicat, Luc. xxiv. 26. *Nonne oportuit Christum ista pati, atque intrare in gloriam suam?* Hanc explicationem totius capitis series evincit: jam enim, ver. 17. dixerat, *hæredes sumus Dei, co-hæredes autem Christi, siquidem cum ipso patimur, ut una cum ipso glorificemur.* Eaque occasione multus est ut fideles hortetur ad crucem & afflictiones evangelii causa sustinendas, inter alia argumento à voluntate divina petito, quod per crucem nos ad salutem velit perducere: & ne id ipsis absolum videatur, Deum, quos diligit, tot dura in hoc mundo immittere, exemplum illis Christi proponit, cujus imagini ut sint conformes Deus eos prædestinavit, & consequenter ad crucem ferendam vocavit: & in sequentibus porro ostendit, illas

illas afflictiones non posse ipsos separare ab amore Dei, quo ipsos in Christo complectitur. Hinc & scriptura passim aliis locis inculcat, nos gloriæ Christi fore consortes si & cum ipso crucem sustinuerimus, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. & præsertim, Heb. ii. 10. *Decebat ut ipse propter quem sunt omnia, & per quem sunt omnia, multos filios in gloriam adducendo, principem salutis ipsorum per afflictiones consecraret.* Et hoc potissimum argumento fideles ad constantem persecutionum tolerantiam hortatur, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13. Heb. xii. 1, 2, 3. Hanc credo esse imaginem Christi, cui ut conformes simus Deum nos prædestinasse ait Apostolus, Rom. viii. 29. consentaneè iis quæ leguntur Act. xiv. 22. 2 Tim. iii. 12. Pag. 246. ait autor sibi non occurrere quod D. Jesus ipse sibi tribuat titulum Sacerdotis, aut mentionem faciat ullius rei quæ ad sacerdotium refertur. Munus Christi sacerdotale in apostolorum epistolis, & præcipue in epistola ad Hebræos nobis plenius esse descriptum manifestum est; nec negari potest D. Jesum nusquam in evangeliis sibi sacerdotis titulum tribuere: attamen negandum non videtur quod sibi alicubi actionem sacerdotalem tribuat: diserte enim ait, se *animam suam* *λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* daturum, Matth. xx. 28. Sanguinem suum vocat *sanguinem novi fæderis, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum*, Matth. xxvi. 27. Negare non possumus hunc esse actum qui ad sacerdotium respectum habet. Quare fortasse præstitisset id præteriisse, neque hominibus calumniandi occasionem quærentibus quicquam suppeditasse quod cum specie aliqua carpere posse videantur. Præter hæc in tractatu hoc quædam mihi occurrere videntur, quæ vix inter se conciliari possunt, nisi forte autor mentem suam plenius explicet. Pag. 13. ait: Cum Adam pulsus sit è paradiso

terrestri, omnisque ejus posteritas ea propter nascatur extra hunc deliciarum locum; inde naturaliter sequi debet, omnes homines morituros, & in æternum sub potentia mortis mansuros, atque ita penitus fore perditos: ex eo statu autem omnes per Christum liberatos docet, & quidem per legem fidei, quam postea fusc ostendit evangelio contineri. Hæc meo judicio vere dicuntur: verum non satis capio, quomodo cum his bene concilientur quæ leguntur, pag. 250, & 266. quod qui justi sunt non indigent gratia, sed jus habent ad arborem vitæ. Illi enim quatenus Adami posterii, etiam sub potentia mortis æternum manere debent: quomodo ergo per suam justitiam jus possunt acquirere ad arborem vitæ, ita ut nulla gratia indigeant? cum antea docuerat, omnes ex illo statu necessariæ mortis liberatos, & quidem per legem fidei: unde sequi videtur, liberationem illam non posse fieri nisi per legem fidei. Ergo non per perfectam legis operum obedientiam: nam è miseria liberare gratiæ est, quam lex operum excludit. Tum nec cum principio isto commode satis conciliare possum quod autor dicit, quæ ratione illi, qui de Christo nihil quicquam inaudiverunt, salvari possint. Si enim per Adamum necessariæ ac æternæ morti sunt obnoxii, è qua per solam legem fidei beneficio Christi liberentur, non videtur illis sufficere posse, quod lumine naturæ aliquas fidei illius, quod Deus sit misericors, scintillas habeant; sed per illam fidei legem, quam Deus salutis obtinendæ conditionem statuit, servari debere videntur. Video doctores systematicos hic multum offendi: atque ideo neque acquiescere illis quinque fructibus, quos D. Jesum adventu suo in mundum hominibus contulisse docet autor. Ego in doctorum systematicorum gratiam nihil in veritatis præjudicium docendum judico;

&

& si quid illi præter rationem carpant, indignationem eorum spernendam censeo : sed considerandum, an non majus quid dici possit & oporteat, quod ipsis licet non satisfaciat, minus tamen forsitan offendet, & meo judicio plenius rei veritatem exhibet. Video fructus quidem indicari prophetici ac regii muneris Christi, nullos vero sacerdotalis. Quid si ergo hic addatur muneris sacerdotalis fructus ; quod mundus Deo sit reconciliatus, adeo ut nunc per Christum omnibus omnino hominibus remedium paratum sit è miseria sua, in quam occasione peccati Adami, propriisque peccatis inciderunt, emergendi & salutem æternam consequendi ? Hoc posito, puto explicari posse, quâ ratione, salvis principiis ante positis, ii qui de Christo nihil ne fando quidem audiverunt, per Christum salvari possint. Nempe quod Deus illis qui (ut autor hic ait, pag. 292.) instinctu luminis naturæ ad gratiam & misericordiam ejus confugiunt, delictorumque respiscenciam agunt, eorumque veniam supplices petunt, gratiam per Christum impetratam applicet, ipsisque propter Christum remissionem peccatorum & justitiam imputet. Atque ita beneficium, quod ubi Christus prædicatus est non nisi per directam in Christum fidem obtineri potest, illi sine directa in Christum, ipsis non prædicatum, fide consequantur per gratiosam imputationem divinam ; qui favores & beneficia sua latius extendere potest quam promissorum verba ferunt. Ut ita omnium salus in sacrificio Christi propitiatorio fundetur. Puto hæc non multum à sententiâ hujus autoris differre, & iis quæ evangelio continentur consentanea esse. Ultimum caput per omnia amplector : omnia credenda & observanda ut salutem consequamur evangeliiis & actis contineri credo ; nullumque novum articulum in epistolis
apo-

apostolicis superaddi: quæ alii novos fidei articulos urgent, non novi articuli sunt, sed aut magis dilucidæ articulorum jam antea traditorum explanationes; aut doctrinæ antea traditæ ab objectionibus præcipue Judæorum vindicationes, cujus illustre nobis documentum præbet epistola ad Romanos. Hæc sunt paucula illa quæ mihi inter legendum occurrerunt, quæque tibi expendenda propono. Fortasse auctoris mentem per omnia non plene affecutus sum. Verum exigua hæc sunt, & extra principalem auctoris scopum, quem argumentis omni exceptione majoribus eum probasse judico, adeo ut me sibi habeat penitus assentientem. Imprimis laudo quod tam candide & ingenuè, nec minus solide, demonstrat resipiscentiæ & bonorum operum necessitatem, & per legem fidei non penitus esse abolitam legem operum, sed mitigatam. Ego illorum hominum theologiam non capio, qui fidem, qua nobis merita Christi applicamus, etiam ante ullum resipiscentiæ actum, nos coram Deo justificare docent. Hac enim persuasione imbuti facile mediis in sceleribus homines incauti sibi justitiam & salutem adscribunt, modo in se fiduciam minime vacillantem deprehendant. Et doctores improvidi hanc temerariam confidentiam alunt, dum hominibus impiis & sceleratis, modo circa vitæ finem fiduciam in Christi meritis firmam profiteantur, salutem sine ulla hæsitatione addicere non verentur. Hujus generis exemplum in nostra civitate recens, quod oblivione obliterari non debet, commemorabo. Præterita ætate ancilla quædam, ut heri sui ædes spoliare posset, noctu eas incendit. Mortis damnata fidem suam in Christi meritis verbis emphaticis coram ministro verbi divini, qui morituræ adfuit, prolixè professæ est: Ille sceleratæ non tantum indubiam salutis spem fecit, sed & postridie

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pro concione illius fidem prolixè populo commendavit, adeo quidem, ut dicere non veritus sit, se, sola ignominia excepta, talem sibi vitæ exitum optare; multis applaudentibus, aliis vero (non Remonstrantibus modo sed & Contra-Remonstrantibus) non sine indignatione talem Encomiasten cum suo encomio reprehendentibus. Verum tandem manum de tabula. Tu pro solita tua benevolentia prolixitati meæ ignosces. Vale, Vir amplissime, mihiq; semper venerande.

Amstelod.

Tui amantissimus,

26 Martii, 1697.

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,

S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

INter negotia publica & privatam valetudinem tam parum mihi conceditur otii literarii, ut sperem diuturnum meum silentium, non ex immutata omnino in te voluntate aut amicitia ortum, tibi, quæ tua est in amicos lenitas, excusatum fore. An tu mihi egove tibi novissime literas dederim quærere nolo. Satis egomet mihi culpandus videor, quod tam diu careo fructu suavissimæ tuæ consuetudinis, & magnus mihi dolendusque in curriculo vitæ meæ hiatus apparet, qui destitutus literarum inter nos commercio, vacuus ea voluptate fuit, quæ maxima cum sit, ex benevolentia solum mutuisque amicorum sermonibus percipitur. Præteritam hyemem cura infirmæ sanitatis rure totam absumpsit. Nisi quod negotia

non-

nonnulla importuna subinde irrepentia totum id quicquid erat temporis quod amicis destinaveram invito abriperent. Adeo ut non in tuo solum, sed & multorum mihi amicissimorum ære alieno sim, nec quomodo me redimam scio, si taciturnitas mea nomine negligentiae suspecta sit. Tu, scio, humanior es quam ut eo me condemnari velis crimine. Quanquam enim tardior aliquando mihi in respondendo calamus, animus tamen nunquam deficit, & si quando hac utor libertate, erga eos solum utor, quibuscum non solummodo vitam civilem, sed intimam solidamque amicitiam mihi colendam propono, quibus multum me scio debere, & quibus insuper cupio me plurimum debere. Ego nuper Londinum profectus post octidui incommodam & anhelosam moram præpropere reditu huc me recipere coactus sum. Hæc pulmonum imbecillitas me brevi spero restituet pristino otio. Valetudinario seni quid restat præter vota pro patria? Naturæ & imbecillitati cedendum est. Hoc mihi si concedatur, libri & literæ, amicorumque interrupta vel impedita commercia, optima illa senectutis oblectamenta redibunt. Quid enim in republica literaria agatur, civili implicato vix scire vacat. Apud nos sane disceptationibus & rixis maximam partem impenditur scripturientium atramentum. Si disputantium fervor solo veritatis amore accenderetur, laudanda esset litigantium industria & contentio; sed non ita semper tractantur argumenta, ut ea ad veritatem stabiliendam elucidandamve quæsitæ credere possis. In mea de Intellectu Humano dissertatione jam tandem aliquid repertum est non ita sanum, idque à viris haud infimi subsellii reprehensum. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus reprehensione dignum reperirem, gratus agnoscerem, & haud invitus corrigerem. Id cum

non sit, rationem mihi reddendam censeo cur non mutaverim sententiam, cum nihil reperiam in ea à veritate alienum. Hæc mea defensio aliquam partem præteritæ hyemis, prout tulit valetudo, occupatam habuit. Sed quid ego te moror nostris nugis? Quid tu illic, vosque alii studiis utilioribus intenti agatis aveo scire. Næ ego iniquus officiorum exactor si à te festinatas postulem literas in scribendo ipse tantus cessator. Verum tu scio id facies ne nimis serio mihi irasci videaris. Vale, Vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 4 Mar. Tui studiosissimum,

1697.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Mense Martio scripsi tibi epistolam satis prolixam. Hac ætate cum viris aliquot primariis sermonem de variis habui: inter alia incidit sermo de tractatu de quo in superioribus meis iudicium meum scripsi. Omnes eum summo opere laudabant. Unus vero titulum sibi non satis placere affirmabat; tanquam nimis exilem pro dignitate materiæ quæ toto libro tractatur. Autoris hujus longe diversum aiebat fuisse institutum à plerorumque scriptorum consuetudine, qui exigui pretii libris titulos magnificos præfigere solent: hunc autem libro magnifico exilem præfixisse titulum. Oportuisse titulum aliquatenus respondisse dignitati operis, ut & ille posset lectores

alli-

allicere. Alius vir (idem qui tibi antehac Sladum nostrum commendatum esse voluit, quod tibi soli dictum velim) se bis tractatum illum perlegisse aiebat: laudabat illum summopere, autoremque fidei christianæ objectum, quod præcipuum totius libri argumentum est, solidissime probasse affirmabat; unum desiderabat; nim. quod autor jam statim ab initio vulgarem de peccato originis sententiam rejecerit ac refutaverit, potuisse autorem intacta illa sententia, nihilominus præcipuum tractatus sui argumentum adstruere: nunc multos, quorum mentibus alte sententia illa insedit, lecto libri initio, antequam ad principale ejus argumentum accedant, offendi, atque ita præjudicium contra autorem concipere, ut sequentia non ea animi serenitate quæ requiritur, legant, sicque alieniores reddi: cum potius ipsorum benevolentia captanda fuisset, ut judicio integro expendant sententiam, veram quidem, sed communi theologorum appetitui minus consentaneam; qui omnes ferme fidei christianæ aliquid de suo admixtum cupiunt; quasi ea suo cœtui peculiaris sit, & alii ab illa excludantur. Qui error ut ipsorum animis eruatur, alliciendi potius sunt, quam assertionem aliqujus dogmatis sibi minus probati alienandi. Candide tibi scribo quid viri hi desideraverint. Hac occasione, ut fieri solet, sermo ad alia deflexit, & quidem quibus argumentis solidissime unitas Dei probetur. Idem ille vir primarius affirmabat, se argumenta quædam irrefragabilia requirere, quibus probetur Ens æternum, seu per se existens, seu undiquaque perfectum, esse tantum unum, Desiderabat quædam in argumentis Hugonis Grotii, libro primo de Veritate Religionis Christianæ, Addebat, audivisse se tractatum tuum de Intellectu Humano in linguam Gallicam verti; multum se tribuere judicio tuo, ac summopere versio-

nem illam desiderare. Quæsit ex me, num in illo tractatu etiam unitatem Entis à se existentis adstruxisses? Ego me ignorare respondi, qui tractatum, utpote lingua mihi ignota conscriptum, nunquam legerim. Voluit itaque tibi serio per me commendari, ut si in tractatu tuo quæstionem hanc intactam reliqueris, illius adstructione tractatum augere velis, unitatemque Entis independentis solide adstruere. Manifestum videtur Ens independentens, quod omnem in se complectitur perfectionem, unicum tantum esse: ille tamen hoc ita probari cupiebat, ut argumentum nulla parte laboraret. Ante triduum aurem mihi vellicari iussit, & à me quæri, an jam ad te scrip sissem, & aliquod à te responsum accepissem. Non credideram ipsum id tam enixe voluisse; sed quia video rem hanc ipsi cordi esse, scriptionem meam ulterius differendam minime statui. Rogo, si id negotia tua permittant, ut mihi responsum scribas, quod ipsi prælegere possim, ita tamen temperata tua scriptione, ut minime subolere ipsi possit, me tibi ipsum aliquatenus indicasse; posses ita respondere, quasi ego tibi scripserim, viros quosdam eruditos de hac materia differentes, ex ipsis aliquem, qui te magni æstimat, de ea tuum voluisse audire iudicium, & ut quæstionem hanc in tuo de Intellectu Humano tractatu expendere desiderasse. Vides quam aperte tecum agam, & quid ab amicitia tua expectare auserim. Hagam Comitum nuper excurri; salutavi honoratissimum Comitem Pembrokeiensem, & per integram horam varios cum ipso, etiam de rebus theologicis, sermones habui: Virum in tam excelsa dignitate constitutum tantum in rebus sacris studium posuisse summopere miror. Ita sermonibus ejus afficiebar, ut vix per semihoram ipsi adfuisse mihi visus sim, cum tamen ab eo digressus integram horam esse elapsam deprehenderim.

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henderim. Ego viro illi excellentissimo longævam vitam precor, ut regni Anglicani negotia ipsius auspiciis feliciter administrantur: tibi vero valetudinem prosperam, ut cogitata tua orbi erudito communicare possis. Vale, amplissime Vir, & salveat plurimum Domina Masham. Salutat te uxor mea & filia.

Amstelod. 8 Octob.

Tui amantissimus,

1697.

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE à Mr. LIMBORCH.

Monsieur,

SI mon nom est venu à la connoissance de ces habiles gens avec qui vous vous entretenez quelquefois, & s'ils daignent parler de mes écrits dans les conversations que vous avez avec eux, c'est une faveur dont je vous suis entierement redevable. La bonne opinion que vous avez d'une personne que vous voulez bien honorer de votre amitié les a prévenuë en ma faveur. Je souhaiterois que mon Essai concernant l'Entendement fut écrit dans une langue que ces excellens hommes pussent entendre, car par le jugement exact & sincere qu'ils porteroient de mon ouvrage, je pourrois compter sûrement sur ce qu'il y a de vrai ou de faux, & sur se qu'il peut y avoir de tolerable. Il y a sept ans que ce livre a été publié. La premiere, & la seconde édition ont eû le bonheur d'être generalement bien reçues: mais la dernière n'a pas eû le même avantage. Après un silence de cinq ou six années on commence d'y découvrir

je ne ſçai quelles fautes dont on ne s'étoit point apperçu auparavant ; & ce qu'il y a de ſingulier, on prétend trouver matiere à des controverſes de religion dans cet ouvrage, ou je n'ai eû deſſein de traiter que des queſtions de pure ſpéculation philoſophique. J'avois réſolu de faire quelques additions, dont j'ai déjà compoſé quelques-unes qui ſont aſſez amples, & qui auroient pû paroître en leur place dans la quatrième édition que le libraire ſe diſpoſe à faire. Et j'aurois volontiers ſatisfait à vôtres deſirs, ou au deſir d'aucun de vos amis en y inferant les preuves de l'unité de Dieu qui ſe preſentent à mon eſprit. Car je ſuis enclin à croire que l'unité de Dieu peut être auſſi évidemment démontrée que ſon exiſtence ; & qu'elle peut être établie ſur des preuves qui ne laiſſeront aucun ſujet d'en douter. Mais j'aime la paix, & il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment ſi fort les criaileries & les vaines conteſtations, que je doute ſi je dois leur fournir de nouveaux ſujets de diſpute.

Les remarques que vous me dites que d'habiles gens ont fait ſur le *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, &c. ſont ſans doute fort juſtes, & il eſt vrai que pluſieurs lecteurs ont été choquez de certaines penſées qu'on voit au commencement de ce livre, leſquelles ne s'accordent pas tout-à-fait avec des doctrines communément reçues. Mais ſur cela je ſuis obligé de renvoyer ces Meſſieurs aux deux défenſes que l'Auteur a fait de ſon ouvrage. Car ayant publié ce petit livre, comme il le dit lui-même, principalement afin de convaincre ceux qui doutent de la religion chrétienne, il ſemble qu'il a été conduit à traiter ces matieres malgré lui ; car pour rendre ſon livre utile aux déiſtes, il ne pouvoit point ſe taire entièrement ſur ces articles, auxquels ils s'aheurtent deſqu'ils veulent
entrer

entrer dans l'examen de la religion chrétienne.
Je suis,

Londres, Monsieur,
29 Oct. 1697.

Votre très-humble,

& très-obéissant Serviteur,

J. LOCKE.

Vir amplissime,

Ne mireris quod lingua Gallica responsum à me fit acceptissimis tuis Latinis 8. hujus mensis mihi scriptis, liceat mihi me tibi excusare & negotiorum multitudine quæ otium negat, & linguæ Latinæ desuetudine, quæ expedit scribere prohibet. Hanc meam epistolam, aliis vel prælegendam vel monstrandam ex tuis colligo: virorum præcellentium censuræ styli negligentia me objicere minime decorum judicavi. Quicquid enim tua vel humanitas vel amicitia in me excusare solet, aliis vel nauseam vel certe non condonandam molestiam creare potest. Scripsi igitur quod dicendum habui lingua vernacula festinatim, Galloque in suam linguam vertendam tradidi. Ex quo exorta est inter episcopum Wigorniensem (qui me quæsita causa aggressus est) & me disputatio, gens theologorum togata in librum meum mire excitatur, laudataque hætenus dissertatio illa tota jam scatet erroribus (vel saltem continet latentia errorum vel scepseos fundamenta) pia doctorum virorum cura nunc demum detegendis. Ad unitatem Dei quod attinet, Grotii, fateor, in loco à te citato, argumenta non abunde satisfaciunt. Putasne tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnoscit, posse dubitare numen illud esse unicum? Ego sane nunquam dubi-

dubitavi; etiamsi, fateor, mihi ex hac occasione cogitandi videtur altius aliquanto elevendam esse mentem, & à communi philosophandi ratione segregandam, si quis id philosophice, vel, si ita dicam, physice probare velit; sed hoc tibi soli dictum sit. Uxorem tuam dilectissimam liberosque officiosissime saluto.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

GRatissimas tuas 29 Octobris scriptas recte accepi, viroque magnifico cujus potissimum rogatu ad te scripsi, prælegi. Res ipsa de qua quæritur à nemine sano in dubium vocari posse videtur, ipsa enim deitatis notio unitatem involvit, nec permittit, ut illa pluribus communis credi possit. Quare, me iudice, nemo qui attente secum considerat quid voce Dei intelligamus, pluralitatem Deorum asserere potest. Quia tamen eam ab ethnicis asseri videmus, & contra eos scripturæ autoritate pugnari non potest, rationibus è natura petitis convincendi sunt. Quare ejusmodi requirit argumenta vir magnificus, quibus solide demonstretur Ens independens & perfectum unicum tantum esse posse. Ex solide adstructa essentiæ divinæ unitate porro facili negotio omnia attributa divina, nostrumque tam erga Deum quam proximum officium deduci posse certissimus est. Cartesium dicit unitatem illam non probasse, sed præsupposuisse. Ipse sibi demonstrationem scripsit, sed eam aiebat subtiliorem esse. Et quia multum tuo tribuit iudicio, tua argumenta avidissime

videre

videre desiderat. Prælegi illi epistolam tuam: gaudebat, quod in ea affirmes te id præstare posse: tanto enixius jam argumenta tua desiderat. Dolebat tibi litem temere motam: quoniam autem, ne fortasse novis litibus & suspitionibus præter tuam inrentionem vel minimam præbeas ansam, publico scripto argumenta tua proferre gravaris, rogat ut ea privatim ad me scribas, sub promisso silentii: ille hæc evulgare minime intendit, sed ad propriam suam instructionem, & in veritate confirmationem requirit. Duobus præter illum viris intima mihi amicitia conjunctis, qui priori nostræ conversationi interfuerunt, D. de Hartoge Fisci Hollandici advocato, & D. advocato Van den Ende, & præter illos nulli omnino mortalium ea communicabuntur, nisi fortasse & D. Clerico ea prælegi permittas, quod tui arbitrii est; ipso enim ignaro, hæc omnia ad te scribo. Rem facturis es & viro magnifico maximopere gratam; & quod fidis solummodo amicis, & quidem paucis adeo, conceditur, cujusque nullum à me cuiquam apographum dabitur, id dispalescere non potest. Quinimo, ut tanto honestius apographum denegare queam, suaferim ut id in epistola tua enixe à me stipuleris. Nolim ego te genti togatæ, tanquam sceps eos fundamenta jacentem, magis suspectum fieri: plerosque illorum alieno judicio, tanquam nervis alienis mobile lignum, præcipientes in laudem ac vituperium immerentium rapi certus sum. Cum tuas legerem lepida mihi incidit Thomæ Mori in suo Utopia fabella. Refert is, cum Raphael Hythlodæus coram Cardinale Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi doctissime de republica differuisset, legis quendam peritum commoto capite & labiis distortis quicquid dixerat improbasse; ac statim omnes qui aderant pedibus in
juris-

jurisperiti illius ivisse sententiam. Cum vero Cardinalis Hythlodæi sententiam probabat, mox quæ ipso narrante contempserant omnes, eadem neminem non certatim laudibus esse profecutum. Simile quid tractatui tuo evenit, qui antea integro sexennio communi applausu exceptus fuit, nunc insurgente contra te magni nominis episcopo totus erroribus scatet, & latentia continet scepleos fundamenta. Ita solet theologorum vulgus non ex suo sed alieno sapere cerebro. Verum talium iudicio epistola tua nequaquam exponetur. Quod vero linguæ Latinæ desuetudinem prætexis quæ expedite scribere prohibet, plane me in ruborem dedit. Quale itaque tuum de me iudicium esse censebo, cujus stylus cum tuo comparatus plane sordet? Epistolæ tuæ omnes, etiam veloci calamo scriptæ, sunt non tantum puræ & tersæ, sed & vividæ ac elegantes; quæ si tibi displiceant, quid de meis iudices non difficile mihi est colligere. Nihilominus amicitia tua fretus, confidenter quicquid in calamum venit tibi scribo, benignitatis tuæ, quæ defectus meos boni consulere novit, plane securus: imposterum vero si ea excusatione uti pergas, timidior me in scribendo facies. Excusationem itaque hanc minime admitti posse facile vides. Si vero negotia tua tardius nobis concedant responsum, nolim nimia festinatione graviora negligas, sed tempus ad scribendum eligas minus occupatum. Quicquid & quandocunque scripseris gratissimum erit: interim si cito des, bis te dedisse gratus agnoscam. Dedit mihi hebdomade proxime elapsa D. Clericus tuum de Educatione liberorum tractatum in linguam Belgicam versum; pro quo dono magnifico summas tibi ago gratias. Uxor & filia eum attente legunt: ego, ubi illæ satiatæ fuerint, integrum, quod

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quod & ipsis commendo, à capite ad calcem perlegam. Salutari te quam officiosissime jussit vir magnificus. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Tui amantissimus;

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

HAC occasione mitto tibi quædam ex Paulo Servita excerpta, quæ Historiæ Inquisitionis inferi possunt. Ego autores quos nunc evolvo, majore cum applicatione ad materiam Inquisitionis lego quam antehac, & si quid, quod ad majorem illius illustrationem facere possit, occurrat, illud excerptare soleo, & historiam meam locupletioorem reddere. Tu si velis aliis à me antehac ad te missis & hæc adjungere poteris. Quæ mihi ante triennium ex itinero Du Mont suppeditasti, ea quanto magis considero, tanto magis historiæ meæ inferenda judico. Licet enim leges pontificiæ secretum confessionis revelari vetent, multa tamen in favorem fidei fiunt legibus prohibita; quas sancivisse videntur eum tantum in finem, ut simpliciores iis irretiti facilius caperentur. Itaque non tantum inquisitionis leges, sed præcipue gesta ac acta illius, quæ cum legibus sæpissime adversa fronte pugnant, considerata censeo. Unum hoc expendi meretur, quod Du Mont ait, confessarios Melitenses obligatos esse Inquisitoribus revelare, quis-

quicquid ipsis in secreta confessione negotium fidei spectans confitentur homines. Secretas illas confessiones inquisitoribus revelari nullus dubito: legem de ea revelanda extare credere vix possum; fortasse confessariis hoc viva voce mandatur, licet nulla hujusmodi lex extet. Quibus accedit, quod sit homo reformatus, & peregrinus, qui inter peregrinandum hoc ex quorundam incolarum sermonibus hausit; quorum relationes quandoque valde esse incertas, imo falsas, ex itinerariis quibus Belgium describitur sæpius ipse deprehendi. Quare considerandum, quomodo ejusmodi cavillationes pontificiorum solide retundi possint. Quicquid vero hujus sit, digna mihi hæc narratio videtur quæ historiæ meæ inseratur, si scriptoris alicujus pontificiis non suspecti autoritate confirmari posset. Si quæ talia tibi inter legendum plura occurrent, rogo ut & mihi ea impertiri velis.

Scipfi ante duos aut tres menses virum quendam eximium argumenta tua de unitate divina videndi desiderio teneri. Ego aperte & rotunde tecum agere volui, & quod mihi in mandatis datum erat celare non potui. Nolui ego graviora tua negotia inturbare, aut aliquid tibi molestiæ creare. Scio, si ab animo ac negotiis tuis impetrare possis, argumenta tua viro magnifico fore gratissima, maximi enim & acumen & judicium tuum facit. Si vero negotia tua tempus attentæ ejusmodi meditationi, & diffusiori paulum scriptioni requisitum, tibi non concedant, aut aliquam inde tibi forte creandam molestiam verearis (de quo tamen te securum esse jubeo) ego à te monitus viro magnifico prout potero te excusatum reddam: velim tamen eo in casu excusationis rationes à te mihi suppeditari: malim autem, si sine incommodo, aut incommodi metu possis, te viro magnifico gratiam

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gratiam hanc facere, ut materiam hanc, quam
jamdiu animo voluit, tua opera explanatiorem ha-
beat. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Tui amantissimus,

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Amstelod. 11 Martii, 16) 98 *P. à LIMBORCH.*

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JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

DOCTISSIMAS tuas literas 21 Februarii datas,
Martii 21. die recte accepi. Paucis id ea-
dem die literis per filium meum tibi tradendis sig-
nificavi. Attente tuas cum D. Clerico relegi.
Ita judicamus argumentis invictis te unitatem es-
sentiae divinae adstruxisse, nihilque in argumen-
tatione tua desiderari. Verum nondum viro mag-
nifico eas ostendendas censuimus, nisi sententia tua
propius explorata. Est enim aliquid quod mihi
imputandum credo, qui viri magnifici mentem
non plane tibi aperuerim. Quantum ex ipsius
fermonibus percepi, agnoscit ille quidem evidens
fatis esse, unum tantum hujus universi esse recto-
rem: sed argumentum desiderat, quo probetur
Ens, cujus existentia est necessaria, tantum posse
esse unum; & quidem ut id argumentum à neces-
sitate existentiae desumatur, & à priori (ut in
scholis loquuntur) non à posteriori concludat, hoc
est, ex natura necessariae existentiae probetur eam
pluribus non posse esse communem. Narrabat
enim, se cum aliis de materia hac differentem,
dixisse,

dixisse, quid si tale Ens existat, præter Deum unicum à quo nos dependemus; illud Ens minime nos spectare, quia ab eo non dependemus; atque hoc nobis sufficere, ut Deum unum toto corde amemus & colamus. Sed tum disquirendum, an tale Ens necessario existens possit esse præter Deum necessario existentem à quo nos dependemus. Si quid itaque ut viri magnifici curiositati plene satisfiat, addendum putes, illud expectabo: interim literas tuas folicite asservabo, ac nulli ostendam. Vale, Vir amplissime, & si quid in toto hoc negotio à me per imprudentiam forte peccatum sit, benignus ignosce.

Tui amantissimus;

I

Amstelod. Kal. Apr. 16)(98 *P. à LIMBORCH.*

19

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE à Mr. LIMBORCH.

Monsieur,

LA question que vous m'avez proposée, vient de la part d'une personne d'un génie si vaste & d'une si profonde capacité, que je suis confus de l'honneur qu'il me fait de deferer si fort à mon jugement dans une occasion, ou il lui seroit plus avantageux & plus seur de s'en rapporter à lui-même. Je ne sçai quelle opinion vous avez pû lui donner de moi, séduit par l'amitié que vous me portez; mais une chose dont je suis fort assuré, c'est que, si je ne consultois que ma propre réputation, j'éviterois d'exposer mes foibles pensées devant une personne d'un si grand jugement, & que

que je ne me hazarderois pas à regarder cet article comme une question à prouver : bien des gens étant peu-être d'avis qu'il vaut mieux le recevoir en qualité de maxime, parce que, selon eux, il est mieux établi sur les fondemens ordinaires que si l'on tâchoit de l'expliquer par des spéculations & des raisonnemens auxquels tout le monde n'est pas accoutumé. Mais je sçai que la personne, par qui je crois que cette question vous a été proposée, a l'esprit autrement tourné. Sa candeur & sa probité égalent sa science & ses autres grandes qualitez. S'il ne trouve pas mes raisons assez claires ou assez convaincantes, il ne sera pour cela porté à condamner aussitôt mon intention, ni à mal juger de moi sous prétexte que mes preuves ne sont pas aussi bonnes qu'il l'auroit souhaité. Enfin, moins il trouvera de satisfaction dans mes raisonnemens, plus il sera obligé de me pardonner, parce que, quelque convaincu que je sois de ma foiblesse, je n'ai pas laissé d'obéir à ses ordres. J'écris donc simplement parce que vous le voulez l'un & l'autre ; & je veux bien, Monsieur, que vous fassiez voir s'il vous plaît ma lettre à cette excellent homme, & aux autres personnes, qui se trouverent dans votre conference. Mais c'est aux conditions suivantes : La première, que ces Messieurs me prometttront de m'apprendre librement & sincèrement leurs pensées sur ce que je dis ; la seconde, que vous ne donnerez aucune copie de ce que je vous écris à qui que ce soit, mais que vous me promettrez de jeter cette lettre au feu quand je vous prierai de le faire. A quoi je serois bien aise que vous eussiez la bonté d'ajouter une troisième condition, c'est, que ces Messieurs me feront l'honneur de me communiquer les raisons sur lesquelles ils établissent eux-mêmes l'unité de Dieu.

La question dont vous me parlez, se réduit à ceci, *Comment l'unité de Dieu peut être prouvée ?* ou en d'autres termes, *Comment on peut prouver qu'il n'y a qu'un Dieu ?*

Pour résoudre cette question il est nécessaire de savoir, avant que de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entend par le mot de *Dieu*. L'idée ordinaire, & à ce que je crois, la véritable idée qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnoissent son existence, c'est, qu'il est un *Etre infini, éternel, incorporel & tout parfait*. Or cette idée une fois reconnue, il me semble fort aisé d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effet un Etre qui est tout parfait, ou pour ainsi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un Etre tout parfait ne sçauroit manquer d'aucun des attributs, perfections ou degrés des perfections, qu'il lui importe plus de posséder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entièrement parfait. Par exemple, avoir du pouvoir est une plus grande perfection, que de n'en avoir point ; avoir plus de pouvoir est une plus grande perfection, que d'en avoir moins ; & avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui est être tout puissant) c'est une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas tout. Cela posé ; deux Etres tout puissans sont incompatibles ; parce qu'on est obligé de supposer que l'un doit vouloir nécessairement ce que l'autre veut ; & en ce cas-là, l'un des deux, dont la volonté est nécessairement déterminée par la volonté de l'autre, n'est pas libre, & n'a pas, par conséquent, cette perfection-là : car il est mieux d'être libre, que d'être soumis à la détermination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne sont pas tous deux réduits à la nécessité de vouloir toujours la même chose, alors
l'un

l'un peut vouloir faire ce que l'autre ne voudroit pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prévaudra sur la volonté de l'autre, & ainsi celui des deux, dont la puissance ne sauroit seconder la volonté, n'est pas tout-puissant : car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'est pas tout-puissant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne sauroit y avoir deux tout puissans, ni par conséquent deux Dieux.

Par le même idée de perfection nous venons à connoître, que Dieu est *omniscient*. Or dans la supposition de deux Etres distincts qui ont un pouvoir & une volonté distincte, c'est une imperfection de ne pouvoir pas cacher ses pensées à l'autre. Mais si l'un des deux cache ses pensées à l'autre, cet autre n'est pas *omniscient*, car non seulement il ne connoit pas tout ce qui peut être connu, mais il ne connoit pas même ce qu'un autre connoit.

On peut dire la même chose de la toute-presence de Dieu : il vaut mieux qu'il soit par tout dans l'étendue infinie de l'espace, que d'être exclus de quelque partie de cet espace, car s'il est exclu de quelque endroit, il ne peut pas y operer, ni savoir ce qu'on y fait, & par conséquent il n'est ni tout-puissant ni omniscient.

Que si pour anéantir les raisonnemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on suppose ; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raison qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux millions, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) si l'on oppose, dis-je, que plusieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute puissance qui soit exactement la même, qu'ils ont aussi la même connoissance, la même volonté & qu'ils existent également dans le même lieu, c'est seulement multiplier le même Etre, mais dans le fonds & dans la vérité de la chose on ne fait que réduire une

pluralité supposée à une véritable unité. Car de supposer deux Etres intelligens, qui connoissent, veulent & sont incessamment la même chose, & qui n'ont pas une existence séparée, c'est supposer en paroles une pluralité, mais poser effectivement une simple unité. Car être inséparablement uni par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, & par le lieu; c'est être autant uni qu'un Etre intelligent peut être uni à lui-même; & par conséquent, supposer que là, où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux Etres, c'est supposer une division sans division, & une chose divisée d'avec elle-même.

Je me suis hasardé à vous écrire mes réflexions sur ce sujet, comme elles se sont présentées à mon esprit, sans les ranger dans un certain ordre qui pourroit servir peut-être à les mettre dans un plus grand jour si on leur donnoit un peu plus d'étendue. Mais ceci doit paroître devant des personnes d'une si grande pénétration, que ce seroit les amuser inutilement que développer d'avantage mes pensées. Telles qu'elles sont je vous prie de m'en écrire vôtre opinion & celle de ces Messieurs, afin que selon le jugement que vous en ferez, je puisse, pour ma propre satisfaction, les examiner de nouveau, & leur donner plus de force (ce que ma mauvaise santé & le peu de loisir qui me reste, ne me permettent pas de faire presentement) ou bien les abandonner tout-à-fait comme ne pouvant être d'aucun usage. Je suis,

Oates, 2 Avril,

Monseigneur,

1698.

Vôtre très-humble,

& tres-obéissant Serviteur,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Literas tuas postremas recte mihi fuisse traditas jam intellexeris. Statim eas viro magnifico prælegi: verum quia tunc occupatior erat, aliud designavit tempus magis opportunum prolixiori colloquio, quod materiæ gravitas mereri videtur. Paucis itaque abhinc diebus me denuo ad se vocavit; iterumque epistolam tuam legimus. Probat argumenta tua, supposita illa quam adhibes Dei definitione: Ens enim undiquaque perfectum, seu, quod eodem redit, omnes in se complectens perfectiones, non nisi unum esse posse manifestum est. Verum ille quærit argumentum, non ex definitione Dei desumptum, sed ex ipsa ratione naturali, & per quod deducamur in definitionem Dei. Hac nempe methodo instituit demonstrationem suam. I. Datur Ens æternum, independens, necessitate naturæ suæ existens, & sibi ipsi sufficiens. II. Ens tale est tantum unum, & plura istiusmodi entia esse nequeunt. III. Illud Ens, quia est unicum, omnes in se complectitur perfectiones; atque hoc Ens est Deus. Primam propositionem, ait vir magnificus, te in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano egregie adstruxisse, iisdem plane argumentis quibus ipse in demonstratione sua usus est, adeo ut suas cogitationes in argumentatione tua expressas viderit. Tanto enixius secundam propositionem à te probatam videre desiderat: qua solide probata, tertia nullo negotio ex duabus prioribus deduci potest. Secundam ait; omnes theologos ac philosophos, quin & ipsum Cartesium, non probare sed præsupponere. Non dubito, quin mihi om-

nem suam argumentationem communicaturus sit ; credo autem non id facturum, antequam tua argumenta viderit ; ut tuas cogitationes, quas ipse es meditatus, cum suis conferre possit. Verum hic ambigere quis posset, an non propositionum harum ordo mutari, & quæ nunc secunda est, tertia, & quæ nunc tertia est, secunda esse debeat : hoc est, an non, quando probatum est, dari Ens æternum, independens, sibi ipsi sufficiens, exinde possit porro probari, illud in se omnes complecti perfectiones ; quia fieri nequit, ut Enti æterno, independenti, sibi que sufficenti ulla perfectio desit : atque ita probato, Ens illud omnes in se complecti perfectiones, porro inferatur illud Ens tantum esse unum. Verum huic methodo hæc obijcitur difficultas, quod deprehendamus esse duas naturas tota essentia diversas (loquor terminis eorum qui hanc movent difficultatem) cogitationem & extensionem : supposito dari cogitationem æternam & independentem, à qua ego dependeo, statuere quis posset etiam esse extensionem seu materiam æternam, sibi ipsi sufficientem, & à cogitatione æterna minime dependentem ? Sic statuerentur duo Entia æterna ; & tamen ex positione materiæ æternæ & independentis minime sequeretur, eam in se complecti omnes perfectiones. Quare primo probandum videtur, Ens æternum & independens esse tantum unum, antequam omnes in se complecti perfectiones probari possit.

Quod si secunda propositio, Ens independens esse tantum unum, non possit probari, nihil religioni, seu necessitati Ens illud unice colendi, decedere videtur : quia ego totus ab illo uno Ente, quod me produxit, dependeo : illi ergo soli sum obligatus, illud ex toto corde, tota anima diligere, illiusque præceptis per omnia obedire debeo. Si præter illud Ens aliud forte existat, quia ab eo non dependeo,

deo, illud neutiquam me spectat, neque ego ullam ad id relationem habeo, neque id ullam in me operationem exserere potest. Imo neutrum horum entium de altero ullam notitiam habere, aut ullam in alterum operationem edere possit. Quoniam enim sibi ipsi est sufficiens, ergo nec per alterius positionem aut remotionem ullam acquirere potest majorem perfectionem, aut de sua perfectione quicquam amittere; alias sibi non esset sufficiens. Licet itaque vetitatis scrutatori summopere gratum sit, evidenter demonstrare posse, Ens independens esse tantum unum: si tamen forte contingat, illud evidenter demonstrari non posse, nihil tamen religionis necessitati & perfectioni propterea decessurum videtur, quoniam Ens à quo ego dependeo est tantum unum. Hæc fuit sermonum viri magnifici summa, quantum ego mentem ejus percepi.

Ego argumentationis tuæ filium, in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano non legi. Probâsse te, ens aliquod esse à quo dependes, illudque ens esse æternum, & sibi ipsi sufficiens, nullus dubito. Argumentum quo id probatur, evidens est & clarum. Verum an ibidem probaveris, te ab uno Ente tantum dependere, neque fieri posse ut à pluribus dependeas, ignoro. Argumentatio viri magnifici quidem infert, me ab Ente æterno dependere; sed nondum vidi ab ipso probatum ab uno tantum Ente me dependere: quod tamen spectat primam propositionem. Nam in secunda ponitur, præter illud Ens æternum à quo ego dependeo, aliud nullum esse ens æternum. Itaque similiter hic præsupponi videtur, me ab uno tantum Ente dependere, saltem id nondum distincte probatum audiui: quod tamen primo probandum videtur, antequam ad probationem propositionis secundæ procedatur. Tum & dispiciendum, an quidem ratio permittat, supponi materiam æternam ac sibi

sufficientem : si enim Ens sibi sufficiens & æternum, necessario sit omni modo perfectum ; sequitur, materiam, quæ iners est substantia, omni motu ac vita destituta, non posse concipi æternam ac sibi sufficientem.

Voluit Vir magnificus, ut tibi distinctius, qualem desideret probationem, præscriberem : verbis tuis te quam officiosissime salutari jussit ; pro suscepto in sui gratiam labore gratias agit : dolet valetudinem tam afflictam ; & si ea minus permittat subtilioribus indulgere cogitationibus, minime cupit ut te fatiges meditationibus, tibi ob valetudinem afflictiolem molestis, aut valetudini noxiis. Precatur interim tibi valetudinem firmam ac vegetam ; & si ea permittat, ut de propositionis secundæ, prout nunc à me ex mente illius proposita est, judicium tuum scribas, rem facies ipsi gratissimam. Tu ipse judicabis de illius methodo, & quid rescribendum sit. Hoc unum addo, ipsum lecta tua epistola nullum illius apographum petiisse, sed conditionibus, quas stipularis, acquievisse : & si petiisset, ego modeste negâsssem : verum ea est humanitate, ut hoc à me flagitare noluerit. Verum tandem tempus est manum de tabula tollere. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Amstelod.

Tui amantissimus,

16 Maii, 1698.

P. à LIMBORCH.



Lettre

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE à Mr. LIMBORCH.

Monsieur,

SI ma santé ne me permettoit pas de satisfaire commodément l'envie que j'ai d'exécuter les ordres de ce grand homme qui reçoit si favorablement mes réflexions, toutes médiocres qu'elles sont, il est pourtant vrai que je ne saurois la sacrifier pour une meilleure occasion que celle qui me porte à examiner le sujet où il m'a engagé, & qui me fournit le moyen de lui faire voir combien je suis prêt à lui obéir. Mais je ne pretens pas qu'en cette rencontre il me soit obligé d'un tel sacrifice; car si je ne hazarde point ma réputation auprès de lui, je suis fort assuré que ma santé ne fera point intéressée parce que je vais écrire. Ayant à faire à un homme qui raisonne si nettement, & qui a si bien approfondi cette matière, je n'aurai pas besoin de parler beaucoup pour me faire entendre. Son extrême pénétration lui fera sentir d'abord le fondement de la preuve que je vais proposer, de sorte que, sans qu'il soit nécessaire que je m'engage dans de longues déductions, il pourra juger si elle est bien ou mal fondée.

Je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer l'exactitude de son jugement par rapport à l'ordre qu'il a donné à ses propositions, & il est vrai comme il l'a fort bien remarqué qu'en mettant la troisième à la place de la seconde, les Théologiens, les Philosophes, & Descartes lui-même, supposent l'unité de Dieu sans la prouver.

Si par la question qui me fut d'abord proposée, j'eusse compris comme je fais présentement, quel étoit le but de cet habile homme, je n'aurois pas envoyé la réponse que je vous ai envoyé, mais une beaucoup plus courte & plus conforme à l'ordre de
la

la nature & de la raison, où chaque chose paroît dans son meilleur jour.

Je crois que quiconque réfléchira sur soi-même, connoîtra évidemment sans en pouvoir douter le moins du monde, qu'il y a eû de toute éternité un Être intelligent. Je crois encore qu'il est évident à tout homme qui pense, qu'il y a aussi un Être infini. Or je dis qu'il ne peut y avoir qu'un Être infini, & que cet Être infini doit être aussi l'Être éternel; parce que, ce qui est infini doit avoir été infini de toute éternité, car aucunes additions faites dans le tems, ne sauroient rendre une chose infinie, si elle ne l'est pas en elle-même, & par elle-même, de toute éternité. Telle étant la nature de l'infini qu'on n'en peut rien ôter, & qu'on n'y peut rien ajouter. D'où il s'ensuit que l'infini ne sauroit être séparé en plus d'un, ni être qu'un.

C'est-là, selon moi, une preuve *à priori* que l'Être éternel, indépendant n'est qu'un; & si nous y joignons l'idée de toutes les perfections possibles, nous avons alors l'idée d'un Dieu éternel, infini, omniscient, & tout-puissant, &c.

Si ce raisonnement s'accorde avec les notions de l'excellent homme qui doit le voir, j'en serai extrêmement satisfait. Et s'il ne s'en accommode pas, je regarderai comme une grande faveur s'il veut bien me communiquer sa preuve que je tiendrai secrète, ou que je communiquerai comme venant de sa part, selon qu'il le jugera à propos. Je vous prie de l'assurer de mes très-humbles respects. Je suis, &c.

Oates, 21 Mai,
1698.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

VIRO magnifico postremas tuas ostendi: ille pro labore rogatu suo à te suscepto maximas agit gratias: non tamen in tua argumentatione acquiescit. Methodus illius primo loco probat, dari ens aliquod per se existens ac sibi sufficiens; deinde, illud ens esse tantum unum: tertio, illud ens in se complecti omnes perfectiones, ac proinde esse Deum. Tu vero in tua argumentatione præsupponis, omni homini attente meditati evidens esse dari Ens infinitum, cui nihil addi aut demi potest, atqui id idem ipsi est ac supponere, dari Ens undique perfectum: quæ est tertia ipsius thesis; adeo ut ex præsupposita illius thesi tertia probes secundam: cum secunda prius probari debeat, antequam ex illa possit concludi tertia. Hæc fuit causa cur ego tibi considerandum dederim, an non ordo illius mutari debeat, & quæ illius tertia est non debeat esse secunda thesis: verum ut argumentatio procedat, non deberet ea thesis præsupponi, sed ex prima thesi probari: aut si illius methodus placeat, deberet prius ex eo, quod sit Ens æternum ac sibi sufficiens, probari illud esse unum; & hoc probato porro exinde deduci illud esse infinitum, seu undique perfectum. Argumentationem suam mihi nondum communicavit: an communicaturus sit, valde dubito. Idem ipsum qui te scrupulus retinet: metuit iniquas theologorum censuras, qui omnia è schola sua non hausta, atro carbone notare, ac infami exosissimarum hæresium nomenclatura traducere solet. Tentabo tamen, an prolixiore colloquio, quod mecum instituere

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stituire velle dixit, aliquatenus elicere possim, quod scripto tradere gravatur. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Amstelod.
Cal. Jul. 1698.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

POST ultimum meum cum viro magnifico colloquium nulla ipsum conveniendi occasio fuit: aliquamdiu febricula laboravit. Colloquium habui cum quodam illius amico, qui inter alia dixit, minime sibi probari viri magnifici argumentationem, qua contendit, si supponamus dari cogitationem per se existentem, & præterea extensionem seu materiam, quod neutra ullam alterius possit habere cognitionem; extensionem quidem (aiebat) nullam habituram cognitionem cogitationis; fieri autem non posse, quin cogitatio cognitionem sit habitura extensionis: quia cum cogitatio per se existat, sibi que sit sufficiens, etiam est infinita; ac proinde vi infinitæ suæ cogitationis necessario cognoscit extensionem existentem. Sed cum regererem, virum magnificum improbare methodum, qua Enti per se existenti sibi que sufficiens probantur inesse alia attributa, antequam probatum sit illud esse tantum unicum; respondebat, necessario de tali Ente debere affirmari illud esse infinitum, sed in sua natura; cogitationem quidem esse infinitæ scientiæ; materiam

riam infinitæ extensionis, si quidem per se existat. Sed inde sequi colligebam, etiam alia attributa posse probari: probata enim infinitate etiam probari posse alia illi inesse, sine quibus infinitas concipi nequit. Quod non negavit. Atque ita mecum sentire videbatur unitatem ejusmodi Entis tali methodo frustra quæri, sed oportere thesin secundam esse tertiam. Crediderim ego virum magnificum hanc sibi investigandæ veritati præscripsisse methodum, & cum ipse quæ sibi satisfaciant argumenta invenire nequeat, ea apud alios quærere. Difficile mihi videtur probatu, Ens necessitate naturæ suæ existens esse tantum unum, antequam ex necessaria existentia, alia, quæ eam necessario comitantur, attributa deduxeris. Si vir magnificus ea habeat, operæ pretium foret ea erudito orbi communicare.

Nuper professor Vander Weeyen tractatulum quendam Rittangeliae edidit, illique prolixam ac virulentam contra D. Clericum præfixit præfationem, qua explicationem initii evangelii Joannis à D. Clerico editam, refutare conatur. Ego æquitatem & judicium in illo scripto desidero. In fine etiam contra me insurgit, verum paucis, quia in Theologia mea Christiana scripsi Burmannum pleraque, quæ in sua Synopsi Theologiæ habet de omnipotentia divina, descripsisse ex Spinozæ Cogitatis Metaphysicis. Ille non negat, sed contendit Burmannum propterea non esse Spinosistam, quod ego nusquam scripsi. Neuter nostrum tam inepto scriptori quicquam reponet. Dedi ante paucas hebdomadas N.N. literas ad te perferendas; verum ille adhuc Roterodami commoratur: vir est eruditus & moribus probatis. Non tu ex eorum es genere, qui viri, non per omnia tecum in religione sentientis, alloquium horreas. Ille quando advenerit de statu nostro
plura

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plura dicere poterit. Hac hebdomade D. Guenellonus me tuis verbis salutavit, quodque postremis meis literis nondum responderis excusavit. Gratissimæ mihi semper sunt literæ tuæ, & quanto crebriores tanto gratiores; sed non sum importunus adeo exactor, ut cum meliorum laborum dispendio eas à te flagitem. Scio responsi tarditatem non oblivioni mei, sed negotiis, quibus obrueris, adscribendam. Spem fecit Guenellonus nonnullam profectiois tuæ instante hyeme in Galliam, & reditus tui in Angliam per Hollandiam nostram. Si id confirmandæ valetudini inservire queat, opto summis votis, ut iter hoc perficias, ut tui post tam diuturnam absentiam videndi & amplectendi, & fortasse ultimum valedicendi occasio detur. Vale.

Amstelod.
12 Sept. 1698.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Lond. 4 Octob. 1698.

Vir amplissime,

ROgo ut magnificum virum meo nomine adeas, dicasque me magnopere rogare ut suam methodum, qua unitatem Entis per se existentis sibi que sufficientis adstruit, mihi indicare velit: quandoquidem mea ea de re argumentandi ratio ipsi non penitus satisfaciat. Nollem ego in re tanti momenti falso vel fallaci innixus fundamento mihi met imponere. Si quid stabilius, si
I quid

quid rectius noverit, ut candidus impertiri velit enixe rogitō. Si tectum, si tacitum velit, pro me meoque silentio spondeas. Sin tantum beneficium orbi non invideat, in proxima, quæ jam instat, libri mei editione palam faciam, agnito, si libet, vel velato auctore.

Cartesianorum quam in epistola tua reperio loquendi formulam nullatenus capio. Quid enim sibi velit cogitatio infinita, plane me fugit. Nullo enim modo mihi in animum inducere possum cogitationem per se existere, sed rem vel substantiam cogitantem, eamque esse de qua affirmari possit esse vel finitam vel infinitam. Qui aliter loqui amant, nescio quid obscuri vel fraudulentī sub tam dubia locutione continere mihi videntur, & omnia tenebris involvere; vel saltem quod sentiant, clare & dilucide enuntiare non audere, faventes nimium hypothefi non undique sanæ. Sed de hoc forsan alias quando majus suppetet otium.

Quod de professore Vander Weeyen scribis non miror. Istius farinæ homines sic solent, nec aliter possunt; recte facitis quod negligitis.

Literas tuas quæ Roterodami hærent avidè expecto, & virum illum, cui eas ad me perferendas tradidisti. Ex tua commendatione mihi erit gratissimus. Viros probos fovendos colendosque semper existimavi. Ignoscant alii meis erroribus; nemini propter opinionum diversitatem bellum indico ignarus ego & fallibilis homuncio. Evangelicus sum ego christianus, non papista.

Hucusque scripseram die supra notato, quo autem die epistolam hanc finiri permissum est infra videbis.

Quod velim cum me christianum evangelicum, vel si mavis orthodoxum, non papistam dico, paucis accipe. Inter christiani nominis profes-
fores

fores duas ego tantum agnosco classes, evangelicos & papistas: Hos, qui tanquam infallibiles dominium sibi arrogant in aliorum conscientias: Illos, qui quærentes unice veritatem, illam & sibi & aliis, argumentis solum rationibusque persuasam volunt; aliorum erroribus faciles, suæ imbecillitatis haud immemores; veniam fragilitati & ignorantiae humanæ dantes petentesque vicissim.

Hyems jam ingravescens & pulmonibus meis infesta me brevi urbe expellet; & abitum suadet invalescens tussis & anhelitus. Iter in Galliam dudum propositum languescere videtur: quid fiet nescio, sed ubicunque fuero totus ubique tuus sum. Saluto uxorem tuam optimam liberosque amicosque nostros communes Veenios, Guenellones, Clericos. Accepi nuper à D^o Guenellone epistolam 3 Octobris datam, pro qua nunc per te gratias reddere cupio, ipsi prima data occasione responsurus. Vale, Vir amicissime, & me ama

18 Octob.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

QUOD literis tuis hætenus non responderim valetudo minus prospera in causa fuit. Aliquot hebdomadibus febricula laboravi, accessere dolores colici acres admodum ac vehementes. Tandem benignitate divina convalui, & ad intermissa studia reversus sum.

Car-

Cartesianam illam loquendi formulam ego tecum non capio; cogitationem enim per se existentem non percipio, sed quidem substantiam cogitantem: verum ne sententiam suam minus candide proponi querantur, iisdem quibus illi eam explicant verbis uti necesse habui: ego autem quando me explico, ita loqui non soleo.

Quæ de christianis evangelicis & papistis differis, optima sunt & verissima. Ego utramque classẽ in omnibus christianorum sectis reperiri credo. Nullum enim cœtum ita prorsus corruptum mihi persuadeo, ut nemo in tanto numero sit evangelicus; licet enim cœtus ipse professionem edat papismi, nonnullos tamen in eo latere credo evangelicos, quibus dominatus ille in aliorum conscientias displicet, ac dissentientibus salutem abjudicare religio est. Rursus licet cœtus evangelicam caritatem profiteatur, non adeo in omnibus & per omnia purgatum, sperare ausim, quin & degeneres aliquot in eo reperiantur, qui professionis suæ oblit, tyrannidem animo foveat, libertatemque sentiendi quam sibi cupiunt aliis invident. Ita ubique zizania tritico permixta in hoc sæculo habebimus. Evangelicos ego quocunque in cœtu sunt amo ac fraterna charitate complector. Papistas licet ejusdem mecum cœtus membra, tanquam spurios Christianos considero, nec genuina esse corporis Christi membra agnosco, utpote charitate, ex qua discipulos suos agnosci vult Christus, destitutos.

Bibliopolæ Churchill tradetur fasciculus, quem ad te mittet, complectens Historiam Inquisitionis, quam cum epistola addita Francisco Cudworth Masham tradi velim: addidi tria defensionis meæ contra Joannem Vander Weeyen exemplaria, quorum unum tibi, alterum Francisco, tertium D^o Coste destinavi. Adversarius meus se reformatum

vocat: an evangelicus an vero papista sit, tu dijudicabis. Amicorum hortatui obsecutus sum: verum bonas meas horas melioribus studiis destinaui, nec facile me istiusmodi scriptis inde denuo avelli patiar. Ut scias quo respiciam, quando de spatiis imaginariis ultra polos loquor, adscribam lineas aliquot ex tractatu quodam Weeyeni contra Spanhemium, quibus Spanhemio geographiæ ignorantiam objicit, ipse adeo rudis, ut discrimen inter gradus longitudinis & latitudinis prorsus ignoret. Hæc sunt ejus verba: * *Ridere in calce si lubeat, lege quæso Dissertat. Histor. p. 298. America longitudinem protendit (Spanhemius) ultra 180 gradus. Forte pars ejus in spatiis imaginariis collocanda erit! cum hætenus ab uno polo ad alium non ultra 180 gradus ponant geographi. Arcticæ & antarcticæ terræ partibus nullus jam locus erit, ubi America ultra polos ignorantissime protenditur. Cave credas (Spanhemio) adeo crasse philosophanti, cum ad mathefin ventum est. Monitus ab amico, rescisso hoc folio aliud substituit: sed libellus jam toto Belgio dispersus erat, & in omnium officinis prostabat. Vide cum quali heroe mihi res sit. Hyemem hanc sine gravi incommodo ruri ut transigas voveo. Domino ac Dominae Masham, totique familiæ officiosissimam à nobis dicas salutem. Uxor ac filia te plurimum salutant, imprimis ego*

Amstelod. 9 Dec.

Tui amantissimus,

1698.

P. à LIMBORCH.

* Spanhemii Epist. ad amicum, & necess. Animadvers. p. 72, & seq.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

Litteras tuas vir eruditissimus fideliter mihi ante duos circiter menses tradidit. Edidit Weeyenus dissolutionem Defensionis meæ, verum adeo dissolutam, maledicam, & nihil ad principale argumentum facientem, ut sponte evanitura sit. Ego nolo mihi cum tam impotenti adversario quicquam negotii esse. Ut exiguum aliquod specimen tibi referam, carpit quod dixi indolem, qua à litibus abhorreo, mihi esse innatam; atque propterea me criminatur quod gloriar de propriis meis viribus, se vero omnia gratiæ divinæ adscribere jactat, idque duabus aut tribus primis foliis plus sexies repetit: talis farinæ totus est liber. Si dixissem me natura esse propensum ad odium Dei & proximi, fuisset illi orthodoxus. Hanc sibi indolem naturalem agnoscit: actiones vero ejus ostendunt, regenerationem (quam sibi tribuit) admodum esse imperfectam, partemque irregentam multum prædominari regentæ. D. Clericus edidit Gallice sua *Parrhasiana*, in quibus de variis differit, & paucis etiam hunc hominem perstringit: verum accuratiorem illius refutationem Latinam brevi editurus est. Prodiit etiam alterius docti viri tractatus, quem tibi in Anglia ostendit. Quænam de illo aliorum futura sint judicia brevi audiemus. Multa supponit tanquam certa, quæ mihi incertissima sunt, aliis falsa habebuntur.

Legi nuper Camdeni Historiam Angliæ sub Elizabetha, in cujus parte II, Anno 1579, hæc verba reperi: *Execranda Matthæi Hammonti impietas, quæ in Deum Christumque ejus Norwici*

340 *Familiar LETTERS, between*

*boc tempore debacchata est, & cum illius vivicom-
burio, ut spero, extincta, oblivione potius est ob-
ruenda, quam memoranda. Velim Cambdenus
paulo distinctius impietatem illam indicasset, ut
de criminis, quod tam horrendo supplicio vindi-
catum fuit, atrocitate constare possit. Scimus in-
noxios quandoque errores à theologis blasphemias
& impietates execrandas vocari, ut crudelitati qua
in dissentientes sæviunt prætextum quærant. Fru-
stra ego hæctenus in autoribus, qui mihi ad ma-
num sunt, exactiorem hujus Hammonti historiam
quæsi: non dubito tamen quin ea in scriptoribus
Anglis reperiri possit. Si sine tuo incommodo
explicatiorem illius narrationem mihi suppeditare
queas, rem feceris mihi longè gratissimam. Plura
illius generis collegi, quæ in ordinem redigere
statui, non ut alios traducam, sed ut omnes à sæ-
vitia in dissentientes, quantum in me, deterream.
Guenellonus noster plurimam tibi salutem scribi
jussit. Literas traditurus est nobili Muscovitæ ad
te perferendas, qui propediem hinc in Angliam
trajiciet, quod tibi significari voluit. Salutant te
ac Dominum & Dominam Masham, totamque
familiam uxor ac liberi: Francisci Masham epi-
stola mihi perplacet, sed jam non est respondendi
otium: à tali indole egregia quævis expecto.
Nominatim illi, ut & D^o Coste salutem dices
à me*

Amstelod.

23 Junii, 1699.

Tui amantissimo,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Literas meas circa mensis Junii finem scriptas fideliter tibi esse traditas nullus dubito. Indicavit mihi D. Clericus sibi à te missum D. Allix tractatum Anglicum, quo probare contendit, Paraphraſtas Judæos æternam filii Dei generationem agnoviſſe. Nuperrime hic prodiit tractatus ante plures annos, ut præfatio habet, & argumentum libri clare ostendit, ab autore ignoto scriptus, qui duos scriptores Rittangelium & Voisinum, idem quod D. Allix afferentes, impugnat. Commoda mihi per nautam mihi notum oblata occasione, exemplar illius ad Bibliopolam Churchill tibi porro tradendum mitto, ut hujus cum tractatu D. Allix collatione instituta de tota controversia judices. Ego non video causæ principali aliquod creari periculum, etiamsi argumento hoc, ex Judæorum scriptis deprompto, propugnari non posset: nec ego tali argumento in disputatione contra Judæos multum tribuere aſſim. Alia sunt majoris momenti, & quæ fortius ſtringunt: verum hoc sine occultæ cum fidei hostibus conſpirationis ſuſpitione affirmari non patiuntur orthodoxiæ ſemel decretis humanis definitæ, jurati vindices, quibus piaculum eſt vel unum argumentum, licet elumbe ac ſtramineum, modo à zelotis adhiberi ſolitur, omittere, aut de illius evidentia ac robore vel minimum dubitare.

Aduere mihi nuper aliquot præſtantiffimi Angli, de quibus, an tibi noti ſint, ignoro. Omnes mihi narraverunt T----- quendam, juvenem Hibernum, & ut audio, non magnifice de ſ. ſcripturæ divinitate ſentientem aliquoties gloriatum de

honore, sibi ab aliquot viris eruditis in patria nostra exhibito: inter alia etiam amicitiam ac familiaritatem mecum contractam jactare. Miror quid hominem, nunquam mihi visum, quique ater an albus sit ignoro, moveat, falso jactare familiaria mecum habita colloquia. Quoniam autem justam mihi causam præbet suspicandi, similia eum de nostra amicitia in Anglia disseminaturum, hac occasione id scribere tibi consultum duxi: ut si quid simile jactet rumorem illum falsi coarguere queas. Antehac de D. Clerici amicitia multum gloriatus est; ipsum hunc bis convenit, sed semel in alienis ædibus: verum ita à Clerico exceptus est, ut de consensu illius secum minime gloriari queat. Sub prælo jam habet D. Clericus aliquot epistolas, quibus se contra criminationes Cavei, Weeyeni, aliorumque defendit. Semel hoc labore defungi cupit, ideoque pluribus simul respondet. Vitam Episcopii à Marco Teute in Latinum sermonem versam relegi; quædam emendavi; omnia autem si emendare cupiam res magni esset laboris: addidi etiam quædam, quibus Historia nostra exteris plenius paulo explicatur: verum quoniam non Remonstrantismi, sed solummodo vitæ Episcopii historiam conscripsi, intra cancellos rerum ab ipso Episcopio gestarum continere me debui. Fortasse versio illa, qualiscunque sit, brevi prælo subjicietur. Vale, Vir amplissime: salutem dices Dominae Masham totique familiæ, à me, uxore, & filia, qui omnes tibi salutem precantur.

Amstelod.

Tui amantissimus,

3 Aug. 1699.

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

NUdiustertius tractatum contra Rittangelium quem mihi misisti accepi. Benigne mecum actum erit si hoc nomine mihi ignoscas tarditatem responsi ad literas tuas tertio Augusti datas. Nondum mihi vacui temporis satis datum est ut Allixii librum hoc de argumento aggrederer, qui mirus plerisque primo auditu visus est, quod trinitatis doctrinam è synagoga haurire præ se fert. Accingam me quamprimum jam per otium liceat ad utriusque lectionem; multi enim ut audio apud nos dictitant quæstionem hanc. prius non intellectam jam primum in lucem produxisse Allixium, & suis fundamentis innixam mundo obtulisse. Quas partes hæc in controversia habent Judæi, perpenſis utrinque argumentis jam videbimus.

Hibernum quem nominas vanæ hujusmodi gloriolæ avidum ex aliis audiui; si de te tuaque amicitia aliquid jactitet apud communes amicos familiaresque meos, quam omnino tibi ignotus sit ex me scient.

Criminationes hujusmodi adversariorum quibuscum res est Domino Clerico an negligendæ an refutandæ hæud facile est statuere. Quidam enim non aliud quærunt nisi calumniandi rixandique ansam. Non dubito quin amicus noster satis habet quod respondeat. Ego sane laudo tuum consilium, qui placide juxta ac solide refutaveris quæ contra te maligne scripserat Weeyenus. De controversiarum quæ me aliquandiu exercuerunt eventum etiamsi non multum habeam quod querar,

piget tamen poenitetque tantum temporis mihi suffuratum, quod aliis studiis majore cum fructu poterat impendi. Si quæ novæ oriantur vellicationes, eas imposterum mihi negligendas censeo.

Vitam Episcopii latinitate donatam lubens viderem; Belgica enim lingua non satis mihi nota, ut quam tu edideris legere possim. Non dubito quin multa contineat scitu & jucunda & utilia, sive mores privatos respicias, sive rerum eo tempore gestarum historiam.

Hactenus ad tuas 3 Augusti datas, sed qua excusatione utar cum respicio ad antiquiores, scilicet, mense Junio scriptas? Si delictum consuetudine delinquendi defendi possit; habeo quod dicam, nōsti tarditatem meam hoc in genere. Fac ut soles, & inveterascentem in me delinquendi morem tu consuetudine ignoscendi vincas.

Cum in novissimis tuis de viro magnifico ne verbum quidem, amici tui opinionem pronus amplector. Operose ab aliis quærit, non quod domi habet, sed quod nusquam adhuc reperire potuit, & quod forsan reperiri possit*.

Tractatus viri docti quem in Anglia videram apud vos editus nondum ad manus meas pervenit: de fundamentis quibus tanquam certissimis superstructum censuit minime mihi satisfecit, cum de iis coram disceptavimus.

Exactiorem Hammonti historiam quæsi, nondum autem reperi quenquam qui eam mihi explicatius tradere possit, vel scriptorem aliquem indicare in quo eam reperire licet. Non tamen desistam. Laudo enim consilium tuum in colligendis hujusmodi exemplis.

* *Mirum viros clariss. latuisse quæ super hac questione meditatus est B. Spinoza. Vide Epist. 39, 40, 41. & Oper. posthum.*

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 345

Guenelloni nostri literas quas me expectare jufferas nondum vidi, nec nobilem Muscovitam cui tradendæ erant ad me perferendæ. Quo infortunio hoc acciderit nondum scio. Doleo interim mihi ablatam occasionem testandi quam paratus essem inservire peregrino, à tam caro amico adventanti. Illum uxoremque ipsius, focerumque ejus Veenium nostrum officiosissime meo nomine quæso salutes: imprimis autem uxorem liberisque tuos. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 5 Sept.
1699.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Licet nihil mihi literis tuis gratius sit, absit tamen, ut amicum plurimis ac gravissimis distractum negotiis ad singulis meis respondendum constringi cupiam. Amicitia arithmeticam illam scribendi & respondendi proportionem non requirit, sed in prompto ac benevolo amici animo acquiescit, & bene secum actum credit, quotiescunque amicus aliquam à gravioribus curis respirationem nactus, vel tantillum temporis epistolio, licet breviori, impendit. Ego ex tuis te recte valere lætus intellexi: Deus hanc tibi diu continuet valetudinem. Anonymi librum contra Rittangelium recte ad manus tuas pervenisse gaudeo. Ubi eum legeris & cum Allixii libro contuleris, rem mihi facies maximopere gratam, si vel tribus lineis judicium tuum de utroque ad me scribas.

D. Cle-

D. Clerici epistolæ criticæ, quibus pluribus qui calamum in ipsum strinxerunt simul respondet, brevi lucem videbunt. Adversarios habet parum candidos, & eorum quosdam imperitos admodum ac indoctos; præsertim illum qui ipsum & me non provocatus invasit. Homo ille omnium imperitus de omnibus judicium pronunciat, quæque minime intelligit magno cum supercilio carpit. Contra Clericum scribit; Philonem à Spencero vocari fabularum sterquilinum: verum quod Spencerus scribit de fictitio antiquitatum biblicarum libro, Philoni falsò tributo, quique nusquam in Philonis operibus existat, ille de genuino Philone dicta putat. Et hic heros adeo in Philone hospes Clericum malæ fidei in Philone citando accusare audet. Me sibi seditionem objicere putat, quando triumphum in spatiis imaginariis agere jubeo, innumerabili ex sæcunda gente Meneni turba currum faustis acclamationibus prosequente; ignarus sæcundam gentem Meneni non seditiosos, sed stolidos, quorum magna ubique copia est, designare. Clerico contra talem adversarium similem, quanquam non adeo gloriosum propter adversarii exiguam eruditionem, eventum, qualem tu nuper omnium judicio consecutus es, prævideo. Scripsit de eo nuper ad me doctus quidam Anglus, qui me præterito anno vidit, his verbis: *Non dubito quin jamdudum audivisti de indubitata Victoria quam amicus tuus D. Locke retulit de Episcopo Vigornensi, in ejus responsione ultima ad objectiones Episcopi contra librum de Intellectu Humano. Episcopus eam vidit, nec multo post mortuus est. Sed etiamsi diutius vixisset, vix credo eum responsurum fuisse: omnia enim istic adeo ad vivum demonstrantur, ut nullus locus contradictioni relinquatur.*

Exactiorem Hammonti historiam quærendo nolo multum te fatiges: si absque tuo incommodo

eam

eam mihi suppeditare potuisses, gratum fuisset. Credidi ego lingua Anglica exstare historias ecclesiasticas, in quibus hoc hæretici adeo horrendi exemplum prætermisum neutiquam est. Ejusmodi enim orthodoxiæ de hæresibus triumphos zelotæ in suis historiis magnifice deprædicare solent. Sed quoniam illud exemplum tibi obvium non est, ego brevi illa Camdeni narratione contentus ero. Episcopii vitam jam paucas intra hebdomadas prælo subjiciendam credo, quoniam ingens quod sub prælo habebat typographus opus jam jam in lucem proditurum est, ut jam illius præla hujus opusculi editione occupari possint.

De magnifico viro nihil jam audio, nihil etiam ab ipso responsi expecto. Videtur aliquatenus congressum meum vitare, fortasse quia me responsum flagitaturum credit: verum ego statui eum amplius non urgere, ne responsum, quod declinet, flagitando importunus videar.

Me Guenelloni, quæ de eo scripsisti, prælegisse testes sunt literæ ipsius, quibus has inclusas voluit. Ipse de nobili illo Muscovita pluribus ad te scribit. Salutem quam officiosissime à nobis dices Domine Masham, totique familiæ. Salutant te uxor & liberi; imprimis ego,

Amstelod.
2 Oct. 1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.



PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD à me petiisti, quærendo apud veterem historicum tandem inveni. En tibi igitur Hammonti crimen & vivicomburium.

Matthæus Hammon, aratorum faber ex vico Hetharset tribus miliaribus à Norwico distante reus factus coram episcopo Norwicensi accusatus, quod negaverat Christum salvatorem nostrum. Comparenti in judicio objectum est, quod sequentes propositiones hæreticas publicasset, nempe quod N. Testamentum & evangelium Christi pura stultitia erat, inventum humanum, & mera fabula. Quod homo in gratiam restituitur sola misericordia divina sine ope sanguinis, mortis, & passionis Christi. Insuper quod Christus non est Deus nec Salvator mundi, sed merus homo, peccator, & idolum abominandum, & quod omnes qui illum colunt sunt idololatræ abominandi. Item quod Christus non resurrexit à morte ad vitam potestate suæ divinitatis, neque in cœlum ascendit. Item quod Spiritus sanctus non est Deus, nec quidem omnino est. Item quod baptismus in ecclesia Dei non est necessarius, nec usus sacramenti corporis & sanguinis Christi. Propter quas hæreses condemnatus est in consistorio, episcopo sententiam pronunciante 13 die Aprilis 1579, & deinde traditus vicecomiti Norwicensi. Et quia verba blasphemiae (non recitanda) locutus fuerat contra Reginam aliosque è concilio Reginae sanctiore, condemnatus est à judice Norwicensi Windamo, & prætore Norwicensi Roberto Wood, ut ei amputarentur auriculæ, quod factum est in foro

foro Norwicensi 13 Maii, & postea 12 ejusdem mensis vivicomburium passus est in fossa castelli Norwicensis.

Hactenus Hollinshead ad annum 21 Elizabethæ. Huic simile exemplum reperio in eodem historico ad annum Elizabethæ 25. Verba authoris hæc sunt :

18 Die Septembris, anno 1583, Johannes Lewes, hæreticus obstinatus, qui negavit deitatem Christi, & professus plures alias detestandas hæreses, quales fere erant prædecessoris sui Hammoniti, combustus est Norwici.

Lubet etiam duo alia exempla ejusmodi ex alio autore suggerere, quæ tibi etiam forte usui esse possunt in eo quod præ manibus habes argumento. Primum est vivicomburium Bartholomæi Legatt Londinensis, anno 1611. & Jacobi primi 9. ob varios errores, hæreses, & blasphemia dogmata asserta & publicata, præcipue in his tredecim positionibus sequentibus. Nempe quod symbolum dictum Nicænum, illudque alterum Athanasii, non continent veram professionem fidei christianæ: vel quod ille ipse non vult profiteri suam fidem secundum illa symbola. Quod Christus non est de Deo Deus genitus, non factus; sed & genitus & factus. Quod nullæ sunt in Deitate personæ. Quod Christus non fuit Deus ab æterno, sed incepit esse Deus quando carnem assumpsit ex virgine Maria. Quod mundus non fuit factus per Christum. Quod apostoli docent Christum esse merum hominem. Quod in Deo nulla sit generatio nisi creaturarum. Quod hæc assertio, Deus factus est homo, contraria est fidei regulæ & blasphemia enormis. Quod Christus non fuit ante plenitudinem temporis, nisi promissione. Quod Christus non fuit aliter Deus quam unctus Deus. Quod Christus non fuit in forma Dei æqualis Deo,
i. e.

i. e. in substantia Dei, sed in justitia & dando salutem. Quod Christus deitate sua nulla operatus est miracula. Quod preces Christo non sunt offerendæ.

Hic Bartholomæus Legatt ab Episcopo Londinensi, assistentibus consentientibusque aliis reverendis Episcopis, doctisque clericis, hæreseos condemnatus est & brachio sæculari traditus, & deinde igni commissus & combustus in West-smith-field Londini.

Eodem supplicio affectus est Eduardus Wightman, in civitate Lichfield, anno 1611. ab Episcopo Conventriæ & Lichfield, hæreseos damnatus, ob has sequentes opiniones:

1. Quod non est trinitas personarum, patris, filii, & spiritus sancti, in unitate Deitatis.

2. Quod Jesus Christus non est verus naturalis filius Dei, Deus perfectus, & ejusdem substantiæ æternitatis & majestatis cum patre, respectu deitatis suæ.

3. Quod Jesus Christus est homo solummodo, & mera creatura, & non Deus simul & homo in una persona.

4. Quod Salvator noster Christus non sibi sumpsit carnem humanam ex substantia virginis Mariæ matris suæ; & quod promissio illa, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*, non adimpleta erat in Christo.

5. Quod persona spiritus sancti non est Deus, coæqualis, coæternus, coessentialis cum patre & filio.

6. Quod tria symbola, sc. Apostolorum, Nicænum, & Athanasii, continent hæresin Nicolaitarum.

7. Quod ille, nempe Eduardus Wightman, est propheta ille cujus mentio facta est xviii. Deuteron. his verbis: *Suscitabo illis prophetam*, &c. Et

quod verba Isaiaë, *Ego solus torcular calcavi*, & Lucaë, *Cujus ventilabrum in manu ejus*, pertinent proprie & personaliter eidem dicto Eduardo Wightman.

8. Quod ille, nempe Wightman, est persona illa spiritus sancti cujus mentio facta est in scriptura, & paracletus ille de quo loquitur Joannes, c. xvi. evangelii sui.

9. Quod verba Salvatoris nostri Christi, de peccato blasphemiae contra spiritum sanctum, de sua persona intelligenda sunt.

10. Quod Elias ille venturus, de quo loquitur, Malach. c. iv. suam personam designat.

11. Quod anima æque ac corpus dormit in somno primæ mortis, & est mortalis respectu somni primæ mortis, uti corpus; & quod anima Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi in illo somno mortis dormivit æque ac corpus ejus.

12. Quod animæ sanctorum defunctorum non sunt membra quæ possident ecclesiam triumphantem in cœlo.

13. Quod Poëdobaptismus est ritus abominandus.

14. Quod celebratio cœnæ Dominicæ, in elementis panis & vini, in ecclesia esse non debet; neque baptismi in elemento aquæ, uti nunc in ecclesia Anglicana usus obtinet: Sed baptismus in aqua administrari debet solis adultis à paganismo ad fidem conversis.

15. Quod Deus ordinavit & misit illum, scil. Eduardum Wightman, ad exequendum suam partem operis salutis mundi, ut sua doctrina suisque monitis mundum liberaret ab hæresi Nicolaitarum, ut Christus ordinatus fuit & missus ad mundum servandum, & à peccato liberandum morte sua, & Deo reconciliandum.

16. Quod

16. Quod Christiana religio non integra, sed pars solum illius prædicatur & admittitur in ecclesia Anglicana.

Hæc ex lingua Anglicana nimis fidus interpres verbatim pene neglecta Latinitatis elegantia & sermonis proprietate transtuli, ut dogmata illa hæretica & capitalia quæ supplicium illud meruerunt, tibi, ut apud nos memoriæ mandantur, perfecte innotescerent. Si qua alia hujus generis exempla apud nos extant, si cupias, ex nostra historia eruam & ad te mittam.

Dum hæc præ manibus haberem, allata mihi est gratissima tua 2. hujus mensis scripta epistola adjunctis duabus aliis. Sentio te eundem semper quem fueras, facilem, dulcemque amicis.

Quamprimum per otium licebit Allixii & anonymi libros mihi perlegendos proponam nec oscitanter. Quandoquidem in eo cardine summam quæstionis versari creditum est. Gaudeo D. Clerici Epistolas Criticas propediem prodituras; ut brevi confossis adversariis in pace vacet studiis melioribus. Controversiarum enim tædium ingens, fructus exiguus. De magnifico viro idem quod tu plane sentio, nec ultra fatigandum censeo. Guenellonis epistolæ amicæ brevi respondebo. Hos ambos interim rogo officiosissime meo nomine salutes, ut & uxorem tuam & filiam, Dominam Guenellon Veeneumque reliquosque amicos nostros communes. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Lond. 7 Octob.

Tui amantissimum,

1699.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

PRO labore quem meo rogatu suscepisti, maximas tibi habeo gratias. Gaudeo me ex literis tuis didicisse, quæ Episcoporum illius temporis judicio horrenda illa crimina fuerint, non nisi atrocissimo ignis supplicio luenda. Video quandoque unum idemque dogma diversis verbis enunciari, atque ita quod uno comprehendere poterat articulo, in plures distendi, proculdubio ut plurimum hæresium reatus tam atroci supplicio prætexi possit. Malim dogmata ipsis eorum, qui ea professi fuerint, verbis legere expressa; sic certus forem, me non legere consequentias, sed ipsa dogmata, eaque non terminis odiosis concepta, forte in alienum sensum detorta, sed ipsis autorum verbis nude & candide enunciata, nihilque continentia nisi quod ipse, cujus causa agitur, pro suo agnoscat. Quando autem procedendi modum video, ad sancti tribunalis instar omnia exacte esse conformata, non sine dolore, agnosco. Bartholomæi Legatt supplicium, verum suppresso illius nomine, laudat Casaubonus, in epistola dedicatoria in Exercit. ad Baronium. Wightmani supplicium paucis narrat Gilbertus Clerke in Antinicanismo contra Bullum, p. 30. Utriusque autem latius describit Gerardus Crocius Historiæ Quakerianæ lib. iii. p. 479. Verum licet non penitus illorum suppliciorum ignarus sim, rem mihi fecisti longe gratissimam, quod pleniorẽ hæresium ipsis attributarum, historiam miseris: multa hætenus mihi ignorata, & scopo meo apprime inservientia, me docuisti. Verum unum est quod desidero, nomen auctoris ex quo Historiam Legati & Wightmani habes:

Z

illud

Illud enim in epistola tua non reperio. Tum & leviculum erratum, fortasse calami festinatione, commissum est. Ais Hammonto auriculas amputatas in foro Norwicensi 13 Maii, & postea 12 ejusdem mensis illum vivicomburium passum. Atqui dies duodecimus antecedit decimum tertium. Præter hæc supplicia legi in Burneti Historia Reformat. Eccl. Angl. ad annum 1549. sub Eduardo VI. vivicomburium Johannæ Bocheræ, seu Johannæ de Kent, & Georgii Van Pare, utrumque satis distincte descriptum: itaque nihil est quod hic desidero.

Verum in Mennonitarum scriptis, ad annum 1575, reperio sub Elizabetha sævam contra Mennonitas è Belgio profugos excitatam persecutionem. Narrant nimirum, coetus suos in Anglia fuisse disturbatos, aliquot suorum in carcerem conjectos, quorum quinque, post varias disputationes & comminationes mortis, ad professionem religionis reformatæ adacti sunt: qui nihilominus in cœmeterio Divi Pauli publico spectaculo fuere expositi, singulorumque humero rogos fuit impositus, quo designabatur ignis supplicium fuisse meritos. Quatuordecim mulieres navibus sunt impositæ, juvenis quidam currui alligatus flagris cæsus, unaque cum mulieribus regno exire jussus, intentata poena mortis si redirent. Quinque viri in squalido ac profundo carcere detenti sunt, quorum unus in carcere diem suum obiit. Ministri Belgicarum & Gallicarum Ecclesiarum Londini reliquos quatuor in suam sententiam pellicere conabantur. Tandem Julii die 22. duo maximi natu, Johannes Petri & Henricus Terwoord eodem in loco, in quo antehac reformatis ignis supplicium irrogatum fuit, vivi combusti & in cineres redacti sunt, &c. Historiam hanc satis distincte, multisque circumstantiis vestitam narrant Mennonitæ. De hisce
nihil

nihil prorsus scribit Camdenus; solummodo ad annum 1560. refert Elizabetham anabaptistas & id genus hæreticos, qui in maritima Angliæ oppida ex transmarinis regionibus specie declinandæ persecutionis convolârant, & sectarum virus in Anglia sparserant, è regno intra viginti dies excedere imperâsse, sive illi indigenæ sive exteri, sub pœna incarcerationis & bonorum amissionis. Velim scire, si levi labore fieri possit, an quæ de supplicio hoc narrant scriptores Angli, consentanea sint illis quæ hic ex Mennonitarum scriptis excerpti. Talia in reformationis opprobrium cedunt. Mihi enim perinde christianæ charitati adversari videtur tribunal de fide, sive id prope Tiberim, sive Lemanum, sive Thamesin constituitur: eadem quippe exercetur crudelitas, licet alio in loco & ab aliis hominibus. Et ut nostrate proverbio dicitur, idem est Monachus, sed alio indutus cucullo. Judicium tuum de Allixii & Anonymi libro audire gestio. In hoc argumento quæstionis cardinem verti à vestratibus credi miror. Ego nihil causæ principali contra Judæos deesse credo, etiamsi hoc argumento destituatur. D. Clerici Epistolæ Criticæ nondum prodeunt; propediem vero eas expectamus. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Amstelod.

Tui amantissimus,

6 Nov. 1699.

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

REcte quidem mōnes, Vir amplissime. Errore festinantis calami transpositi sunt characteres numerales, & 12 scriptum pro 21: nam 21 Maii Hammontus passus est vivicomburium. Queris insuper, idque non sine causa, quod nomen auctoris, ex quo historiam Legati & Wightmanni hausi, omiserim. Id autem negligentia non factum mea est. Libellus prostat Anglicè, cui titulus, *The History of the first fourteen Years of King James; i. e. Historia quatuordecim primorum annorum Jacobi Regis.* Autor nomen suum tacuit. Huic libello annectitur ad finem tractatulus, cui titulus, *A true Relation of the Commissions and Warrants for the Condemnation and Burning of Bartholomew Legatt, and Edward Wightman, the one in West-Smithfield, the other in Litchfield, in the Year 1611, signed with King James's own Hand.*

De Mennonitis quod quæris nondum aliquid ex nostris historicis eruere mihi contigit quod tibi satisfaciat, vel lucem afferat: forsan quia idonei hic rure non ad manus sint scriptores quos consulam. Ne tamen tibi in tam desiderato opere quicquam quod in me est opis tibi desit, id negotii dedi ingenuo doctoque amico, ut si qua opera reperire possit inter authores nostros illius rei monumenta, id totum, quicquid est, excerptum ad me transmittere velit. Quamprimum aliqua testimonia ad rem tuam facientia mihi oblata fuerint, tibi confestim transmittenda curabo.

Allixii librum quamprimum prodiit coëmi animo legendi, sed otiose hactenus præ manibus jacuit, nec dum sive per valetudinem sive per alias avocationes legere licuit; spero propediem pinguius & fructuosius otium. Quid de eo audias interim mihi dicas. Quidam apud nos valde paradoxum credunt, doctrinam trinitatis Judæis tribuere & stabilimentum istius dogmatis è synagoga petere. Alii è contra dictitant hoc jugulum causæ esse; & hoc fundamento stabiliri orthodoxiam & everti omnia unitariorum argumenta. Quid ipsa res doceat aveo videre, opem enim in hac causa à Judæis & Rabbinis olim non expectavi. Sed lux semper gratissima, undecunque affulgeat.

Domina Masham reliquique ex hac familia te plurimum salvere jubent. Nosque omnes tibi tuisque omnibus felicem annum exoptamus. Vale, Vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 6 Jan.

Tui amantissimum,

1700.

J. LOCKE.

Veenium, Guenellonem, Clericum, reliquosque nostros quæso meo nomine officiosissime salutes, quibus omnibus felicem hujus sæculi exitum & futuri introitum opto.



JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir. amplissime,

QUOD hætenus ad amicissimas tuas siluerim, ulla tui oblivione factum credas nolim. Multa responsum distulere; præcipue quidem tristis ille casus tibi satis notus, & mœror inde contractus. Ego ad studia, hoc infelici casu multum languentia, reversus sum; recuperata jam sanitate, quæ valde afflicta fuit. Relegi epistolam tuam; video nihil eam continere quod promptum responsum flagitet; attamen benevolus tuus affectus, quo propositum meum promovere contendis, citius merebatur responsum: tu autem tarditatem facile condonabis mœrori meo.

De Bilibra hic apud nos altum est silentium. Verum vidî reverendissimum Episcopum Bathoniensem & Wellensem in præfatione tertiæ partis contra Judæos, eam breviter & generatim oppugnâsse. Ego velim genuinum statum controversiæ ingenue ac terminis minime ambiguè proponi, & argumenta candide ac solide in utramque partem expendi, quod prolixiorẽ tractatum & animum non studio partium abreptum, sed veritatis sincere studiosum requirit. Prodiit hac hyeme liber Gallice scriptus, cui autor titulum præfixit, *Le Platonisme dévoilé*. Autorem jam obiisse præfatio docet. Dicitur in Anglia scriptus, indeque huc missus ut in lucem edatur. Quamvis eruditus sit tractatus, multis displiciturum credo: & licet ego discrepantes de religione sententias sine ulla erga autores indignatione investigare soleo, non possum tamen dissimulare, aculeatos ipsius sarcasmos in materia sacra mihi quam maxime displicere: licet
enim

enim credere posset, adversarios quos oppugnat illos meruisse; materiæ tamen quam tractat majestas cohibere eum debuisset, ne hic quicquam gravitati christianæ adversum immisceret. Tum & prudentiæ fuit, mordacibus ejusmodi sarcasminis adversariorum contra se ac suos indignationem, alias satis acrem, non magis exacerbare. Audio plura illius exemplaria in Angliam esse missa; quare à te visum esse nullus dubito.

Burmanni filios, dehortantibus nequicquam amicis, contra me tractatum scripserunt, eumque jam sub prælo esse, ac brevi proditurum: Weeyenum habuere continuum instigatorem, qui cum Burmannum purgare non potuit, illius filios in me concitavit, ut ipsi sub specioso defendendi patris prætextu, inanem in se ac inglorium laborem susciperent: non enim verba parentis sui, nec Spinozæ, è libris editis eradere possunt; neque inficiari eadem esse quæ in Spinoza, & parentis sui Synopsi Theologiæ leguntur verba. Quæstio facti est, quæ prolatis ex utroque autore testimoniis, in dubium vocari nequit. Ego talia scripta maxima animi serenitate contemnere possum. Vale, Vir amplissime. Salveat Domina Masham, cum tota familia. Omnes mei te salutant.

Amstelod.

Tui amantissimus,

11 Maii, 1700.

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

ANte hebdomadas aliquot tuo nomine mihi datus est præstantissimus tuus de Intellectu Humano liber in linguam Gallicam versus. Pro eximio illo dono grates tibi quas possum maximas ago. Nondum eum legere potui; verum nunc instant feriæ meæ quibus ejus lectionem destinavi. Materię enim quæ in illo tractatur gravitas ac varietas, quam ex capitum indice didici, summam animi attentionem, & continuatam minimeque interruptam lectionem requirit. Itaque tempus quo à quotidianis negotiis immunitatem habeo, illi impendam, ut tanto majore meo cum fructu eum evolvam.

Legi in novellis nostratibus, quod & D. Clericus literis tuis confirmavit, te ob ætatem ingravescentem & valetudinem minus firmam honoratissimi muneris ante aliquot annos tibi demandati dimissionem obtinuisse. Equidem institutum tuum minime improbare possum, quinimo laude dignum censeo, quod extremos vitæ tuæ dies procul à strepitu politico, quieti, studiis ac meditationibus sacris consecrare, quam negotiis honestis quidem, attamen nihil ultra vitæ hujus tranquillitatem spectantibus, implicatos habere malueris. Hanc tibi quietem ex animo gratulor, Deumque precor ut senectutem tuam eximiis, quibus vera paratur felicitas, donis magis magisque exornet, ac quicquid corpusculi viribus decedit, vivaciore mentis acie & spiritus robore compenset.

Tandem

Tandem prodiit contra me *Burmannonum Pietas*, is libri titulus est: mole ingens, verbosus, contumeliosis plurimis declamationibus & investivis refertus. Illi per D. Crucium, fratrem suum uterinum, à civitate Leidensi in collegium rerum maritimarum deputatum, mihi *Pietatis* suæ exemplar tradi voluerunt. Legi illam sed cum nausea; & nisi in me scriptus fuisset liber, lectionem absolvere non potuissem. Illi in eo summis viribus probare nituntur, parentem suum à me Spinocismi accusatum; & eum prolixè excusare contendunt. Ægerrime ferunt, parenti suo à me ascribi imprudentiam, & quod sine judicio Spinozam secutus sit. Aiunt parentem suum hæc ex Spinoza cum judicio exscripsisse, ut mere Cartesiana: Spinosam enim in eo libro suam doctrinam nec aperte inculcasse, nec tectè insinuasse, sed sola Cartesii dogmata tradidisse. Verum ego non credo Cartesianos hæc quatuor pro suis agnituros. 1. Tota natura naturata non est nisi unicum Ens. 2. Possibilitas & contingentia non sunt affectiones rerum, sed intellectus nostri defectus. 3. Si homines clare totum ordinem naturæ intelligerent, omnia æque necessaria reperirent, ac omnia illa quæ in Mathesi tractantur. 4. De extraordinaria Dei potentia qua miracula facit, non immerito valde dubitari posse: quæ tamen omnia in illo Spinozæ libro disertis verbis reperiuntur. Sarcasmis plurimis in parallelismum inter Spinosæ & Burmanni verba ludunt; verum nihil in eo reprehendere aut falsi arguere possunt. Ego illi libro nihil reponam, præsertim cum ob molem suam non distrahatur & à nemine legatur.

Versiculos in me narratur scribere Cinna:

Non scribit, cujus carmina nemo legit.

Idem

Idem mihi cum Martiale dicere licet. Addo, quod quicumque meam contra Weeyenum defensionem legerit, nova defensione non indigebit: qui eam legere non vult, illi nec decem apologiis satisfecero. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Amstelod.

Tui amantiſſimus,

20 Julii, 1700.

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

HAC ætate binas ad te literas dedi, quas ad manus tuas perveniſſe ſpero. Dolerem ſi aberrâſſent. Nunc ad te mitto Vitam Episcopii, ante plures annos, uti nôſti, à me lingua Belgica ſcriptam, & præfixam concionibus aliquot Episcopii, quarum exemplar illo tempore ad te miſi. Quoniam nunc Latino ſermone prodit, à noſtro Marco Teute, cum in Anglia eſſet, verſa illius ad te duo mitto exemplaria, quorum alterum filio Dominæ Maſham trades, alterum ut benigno à me recipias vultu rogo. Videbis ibi ſpecimen aliquod perſecutionis in patria noſtra, libertatis aſylo, inſtitutæ; unde quomodo erga integras eccleſias, & ingenuos veritatis confeſſores, paſſim ſæviturum fuerit, facile colliges. Utinam & hodie omnes hanc ſævitiā deteſtentur! verum qua nunc fruimur, quietem non moderatioribus Eccleſiaſtarum conſiliis, ſed magiſtratus prudentiæ & benignitati debemus; quæ niſi igneum illorum zelum

zelum compeſceret, eadem nos hodiæ quæ olim majores noſtros procella obrueret. Jam magnam libri tui eruditiffimi partem maxima cum voluptate legi. Omnia mihi mirifice placent. Verum quoniam non tantam linguæ Gallicæ quam Latinæ cognitionem habeo, aliquando ut vim phraſum Gallicarum intelligam, atque mentem tuam diſtincte percipiam, bis terve quædam mihi relegendæ ſunt; quod lectionem mihi aliquanto tardioſiorem reddit; verum moleſtiam hanc dilucida veritatis explicatione, argumentorumque quibus eam adſtruis pondere abunde compenſas. Quando ad finem pervenero, caput *xxi. de la puiſſance*, ubi prolixè de voluntate ac hominis libertate in volendo diſſeris, relegam: quædam enim ibi habeas nova, quæ attentum requirunt lectorem. Ego totum ubi perlegero, candide meum tibi judicium ſcribam. Verum vix credo in quoquam à te diſſenſurum, adeo omnia quæ legi mihi probantur. Vale, Vir ampliffime, & ſalve à me ac meis: ſalutem etiã officioſiſſimam dicēs D. Maſham, totique familiæ.

Amſtelod.

Tui amantiſſimus,

30 Oct. 1700.

P. à LIMBORCH.



JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

PRælegit mihi hiſce diebus Guenellonus noſter epistolam tuam, quæ te cum aſthmate graviter conſictari nuntiabat. Equidem valetudinem tuam affictam ex animo doleo, eamque tibi firmiorem precor. Sed non ſine admiratione ex literis tuis intellexi, te binas tantum hoc anno à me accepiffe; cum circa finem menſis Octobris tertias ſcripſerim, quibus addidi duo vitæ Episcopii à Marco Teute latinitate donatæ exemplaria, unum tibi, alterum Franciſco Cudworth-Maſham, una cum literis ad ipſum, quæ jamdudum tibi reddita nullus dubitabam. Faſciculus quatuor comprehendebat exemplaria, quorum reliqua duo deſtinata erant Rev. Episcopis Salibuſiensi, ac Bathoniensi & Wellenſi. Doleo interim etiam epistolam aberrâſſe, in qua ſcripſi magnam me libri tui partem legiſſe, omniaque maximopere mihi probari. Poſtea retulit mihi amicus, ſe Cartefii quosdam ſequaces, à quibus aliquot ex prioribus capitibus lecta erant, conveniſſe; illis maxime diſplicuiſſe duo, quæ ego veriſſima duco; nullas videlicet dari ideas innatas, & animam non eſſe nudam cogitationem. Verum quid aliud à Cartefii ſequace expectes? Alios audivi magnopere librum tuum laudantes, & ſententiæ tuæ applaudentes. Ego ſumma delectatione illum legi, & etiamnum lectionem illius continuo. Verum quoniam non tam exactam linguæ Gallicæ cognitionem habeo, ut phraſeon quarundam Gallicarum vim prima lectione aſſequar, præſertim
in

in materia subtili & ardua, cogor nonnunquam, ut distincte mentem tuam percipiam, lectionem aliquoties repetere. Gratissimum foret, si librum tuum latinitate donatum conspicerem quandoque daretur; tum facilius quæ scripsisti intelligerem, & fortasse de quibusdam quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripsisti, tecum conferrem. Valde quæ ibi scribis mihi probantur: video te terminos aliquot obscuros aut ambiguos in illa materia elucidasse; sed nescio an ubique mentem tuam perceperim: relegam integrum caput, & si quid occurrat ad quod hæsito, ingenue ac rotunde ad te scribam, plane persuasus dilucida tua explicatione omnem (si quæ sit) obscuritatem disparituram. Sed & ingenue tibi confiteor, mœrorem sæpe meditationes meas, quas studiis consecravi, turbare. Verum dabit Deus his quoque finem. Ego ut honesta & non inutili occupatione mœroris mei tædium diluam, incepti Commentarium in Acta Apostolorum conscribere, sed nova quadam ratione ac methodo. Criticos egerunt Grotius alique, quorum laboribus mea diligentia nihil addere potest. Itaque omissa critica aliam mihi interpretandi methodum præscripsi; ut ex historia apostolorum, variisque illius circumstantiis, ac præsertim eorum concionibus, religionis christianæ veritatem & divinitatem asseram, & qua methodo apostoli contra Judæos eam adstruxerint ostendam. In hisce explicandis prolixior paulo sum: reliqua huc non spectantia obiter tantum attingo. Quibus alia contra Judæos disputandi methodus placet, meum laborem non probatum iri, facile prævideo. Sed veritati litandum est; & apostolos duces sequi præstat, quam homines affectibus ac præjudiciis nimium indulgentes. Vale, Vir amplissime. Deus pristinam
tibi

tibi restituat sanitatem, ut quoad vivis egregiis tuis laboribus publico inservire possis. Salutant te quam officiosissime uxor mea, liberique. Salutem à nobis dices Dominæ Masham, totique familiæ.

Amstelod.
18 Feb. 1701.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir colendissime,

EX ultimis tuis 18 præsentis Februarii datis probe sentio, quam firma, quam immutabilis sit tua erga me amicitia, cum tribus ante missis ad me silentem literis quartas addere non dedignatus es, sine reprehensione ulla tantæ & tam criminosæ taciturnitatis. Ignoscis video, ideoque valetudinis incommoda non causabor. Penultimas tuas cum fasciculo librorum vel amissas vel in itinere male hærentes maxime doleo, quod crediderim te sensum tuum de libro meo jam tum cum scriberes perlecto liberius explicuisse. Quod de iis quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripserim aliquantum hæsitatio non miror. Totum illud argumentum in prima editione penitus omittendum censui; sed noluerunt amici, quicquid ego de rei ipsius & novitate & subtilitate contra afferrem, ne lectores aliis assueti ratiocinationibus, non probe perspecto ubique animi mei sensu

sensu offenderentur, & ea quæ in isto parergo commentatus sum vel tanquam novatoris paradoxa, vel tanquam inconsulte errantis sphalmata negligenter si non plane condemnarent. Nec me eventus penitus fefellit, cum plures inter amicos familiaresque meos de hoc uno subjecto mecum feruere sermones quam de omnibus reliquis totius libri capitibus. Fateor adhuc neminem fuisse cui scrupulum quo detinebatur, non exemi, si modo dabatur otium sensim & pedetentim integram materiam à capite ad calcem mecum perpendendi: quod quidem rei veritati, non meæ quantulacunque mediocritati tribuendum censeo. Quod si tibi nova recensione, ut promittis, recurrenti aliqua objicienda occurrunt, persuasum tibi sit nihil acceptius mihi fore quam errores meos amica manu detegi eoque ipso evelli: non enim famæ nec opinioni sed veritati soli litandum censeo. Quicquid demum fuerit, disputationes nostras in unam eandemque sententiam terminatum iri pro certo habeo, cum utrique unam eandemque illibatam veritatem studiose quærimus.

Gaudeo te Commentarium in Acta Apostolorum meditari, & ejusmodi interpretandi methodum quæ non hæreat in criticis observationibus & verborum cortice. Nullibi magis apparet, ut mihi videtur, scopus geniusque religionis christianæ quam in ea historia. Quid enim magis genuinum sincerumque evangelii sensum nobis indicare possit, quam primæ illæ apostolorum prædicationes quibus infideles, tam Gentiles quam Judæos, ad fidem Christi convertebant?

Ad priores tuas ut aliquando veniam; laudo consilium tuum quod *Burmannerum Pietati* minime respondendum censueris: hujusmodi vitiligitium opprobria omnino contemnenda.

Prælum nostrum in fermento est, nec quicquam pene prodire videmus præter disputationes politicas ecclesiasticasque. Quorsum tandem res evadet nescio. Quid minatur turba video: exitum non video. Tranquillitati quantum possum studeo. Deus optimus maximus ecclesiarum reformatarum & totius Europæ libertatem conservet: Sic precatur

Oates, 22 Febr.

Tui observantissimus,

170^o.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

Nuper Transilalani rigoris in causa religionis minime excusandi exemplum præbuere vere detestandum. Quidam minister Mennonita jam ante annos quindecim synodo suspectus fuit Socinianismi, & illius Hæreseos coram ordinibus Transilalanis à ministris ecclesiæ publicæ accusatus. Itaque à muneris sui functione suspensus fuit, adeo ut integro circiter biennio ecclesia illius publico religionis exercitio caruerit. Post longam actionem, cum ministri accusationem suam probare non possent, ipse ad ecclesiam suam fuit remissus, eique injunctum, ut sibi à dogmatibus Socinianis docendis caveret, sub pœna arbitraria. Ille ante triennium libellum edidit exigui admodum pretii, quo unionem inter omnes Christianorum sectas suadet, etiam cum Socinianis; qua occasione

casione imprudentius quædam pro Socinianis scripsit; & alicubi quædam occurrunt aculeata in gentem togatam. Libellus hic si contemptus fuisset, vix invenisset lectores: verum scis gentem illam sacram vel minima injuria facile irritari. Itaque denuo delatus fuit ad Satrapam districtus Vollenho, à deputatis classis Vollenho, qui exhibito libello supplice petunt, ut hic homo, qui non tantum Socinianas hæreticas opiniones clam & palam docuit, sed etiam audacissime edidit, & sparsit, iisque intolerandos sarcasmos ac blasphemias admiscuit, ab ipso Satrapa compellatur coram proxima Synodo libellum hunc palam revocare, & poenitentiam ob commissâ testari: ut libellus hic flammis tradatur, ac in tota provincia vetetur vendi, ac supprimatur: impensæ, quas classis ob hanc causam sustinere debuit, ab ipso restituantur, ipseque propter crimen commissum poena arbitraria afficiatur. Satrapa petitioni huic annuit, hominemque ad synodum ablegat. Synodus illi offert quinque articulos subscribendos, quibus continebatur confessio, quod contra mandatum Ordinum libellum istum edidisset, quod ipsum inobedientiæ illius poeniteret, quod omnia libelli sui exemplaria esset suppressurus; aliaque, quibus ipse subscribere recusavit. Instabant aliqui ex ministris, imo obtestabantur ut subscriberet: verum ille constanter recusavit. Postea dicitur compertum fuisse, illos id adeo ardentem cupivisse, ut haberent reum confitentem, & sic propria sua confessione arbitrariæ poenæ obnoxium. Hæc gesta sunt media æstate anni CIO IOC XCIX. Proximo Januario anni sequentis à Satrapa in carcerem est conjectus, & post longam novem vel decem mensium incarcerationem, tandem sententia judicis homini pauperi, tenui victu, & diuturno

carceris squalore emaciato, multa irrogatur centum ducatorum argenteorum, qui conficiunt libras vestras sterlingas circiter triginta; nec dimittendus è carcere pronuntiatur, nisi soluta pecunia. Ille cum solvendo non esset, utpote pauper, in tetrum, foetidum ac tenebrosum carcerem subterraneum detruditur; ubi postquam duabus hebdomadibus pane & aqua vitam toleravit, tandem aliud ipsi mandatum exhibetur mense Novembri proxime elapso, quo ipse errores libello ipsius contentos disseminare prohibetur; sub poena, si secus fecerit, catastæ & exilii, sine ulla ulteriore forma processus: atque ita è carcere dimittitur. Nunc miser ad extremam inopiam redactus est, omni illius divendita supellectile, quæ tamen neutiquam explere potuit multam in quam condemnatus erat. Non possum excusare illius imprudentiam: verum nec possum quin detester hanc sævitiam, præsertim quando in extensione sententiæ leges imperatoriæ ex codice adferuntur, ut fulcra ac fundamenta quibus dura hæc sententia innititur. Sic sensim ad detestandum illud Inquisitionis tribunal relabimur.

Relegi magna cum attentione cap. xxi. lib. ii. tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano. Expendi voces ac phrasas quas in materia hac controversa adhibes. Puto me jam plene mentem tuam percepisse, à qua ego non dissentio. § 6. optime doces, intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera ab anima distinctas, sed mentem ipsam humanam immediate per se ipsam intelligere & velle. Inde inferis non recte voluntatem dici liberam, sed hominem: recte etiam meo iudicio definis libertatem. Verum quando dicis, § 24. libertatem consistere in potentia agendi & non agendi, & quidem in eo solo; non puto id

te

te restringere ad solas actiones externas, sed & extendere ad internas, seu cogitationes nostras; illæ enim non minus quam actiones externæ subiectæ sunt arbitrio nostro: idque consentaneum est iis, quæ in sequentibus capituli illius scribis. Porro jam inquiris, quod præcipuum est, quid sit illud, quod hominem ad hoc aut illud agendum movet. Ego hætenus ita me explicui; bonum jucundum, seu voluptatem esse id quod hominem allicit; illique oppositum dolorem esse malum quod homo averfatur: adeoque quodcunque homo vult, id ab eo considerari ut jucundum, quod vero averfatur & fugit, ut molestum. Non negas tu illud, quinimo id etiam urges, § 41, & seqq. Verum ut distinctius ostendas, qua ratione voluptas aut dolor hominem moveat, doces, § 29, & seqq. voluntatem determinari ab inquietudine, quam homo in se experitur, aut ex præsentia doloris, aut ex absentia boni seu voluptatis, in qua vel totam, vel saltem partem suæ beatitudinis collocat; quamdiu enim homo in statu suo acquiescit, nullam illius mutationem quærit, sed solummodo quando in statu suo non acquiescit, seu quandam inquietudinem, sive ex præsentia doloris, sive ex absentia voluptatis, quam ut felicitatis suæ partem considerat, in se sentit. In his facile tibi assentior. Inde recte deducis, bonum in nobis excitare desiderium, non tamen inde sequi majus bonum semper in nobis majus desiderium excitare. Quod verissimum est & tu recte probas. Unde porro deducis, libertatem hominis in eo consistere, quod possit suspendere impletionem cujuscunque desiderii sui, plenamque habeat libertatem unum post aliud considerandi, objecta eorum examinandi, eaque ab omni parte observandi, ac inter se comparandi, antequam se

determinet ad agendum. Et hoc tecum agnosco. Inde jam infer, *indifferentiam*, quæ non possit determinari per ultimum iudicium quod homo fert de bono & malo, cujus electionem sequendam credit, esse summam naturæ intelligentis imperfectionem. In Remonstrantium scriptis sæpe vox *indifferentia* occurrit, quando de libertate hominis agitur: verum ea nunquam à nobis hoc sensu accipitur, quod posito illo ultimo iudicio, in quo proprie actus volitionis consistit, nihilominus hominis potentia agendi sit indifferens, & per voluntatem non determinetur: sed, quod ante illud voluntatis decretum homo libertatem habet se in hanc vel illam partem determinandi, & non ad unum tantum oppositorum determinatus est: accedente autem voluntatis decreto, seu volendi actu, indifferentia illa tollitur, & potentia ad agendum aut non agendum determinatur. Et hic etiam puto nos consentire. Reliqua capituli iis quæ jam recensita sunt magis illustrandis ac confirmandis inserviunt. Puto me hic sententiam tuam de libertate hominis recte percepisse. Nec est quod illi quicquam opponam: imo quædam distinctius, & clarioribus quam hactenus à nostris factum est terminis ac phrasibus posse exprimi didici. Si non bene perceperim, aut si quid omiserim, quod, ut sententia tua plene percipiatur, omitti non debuit, rogo ut me erroris admoneas: nolim enim in sententiæ tuæ explicatione, quam prout eam percepi etiam meam esse agnosco, à mente tua aberrare. Si in quibusdam dissentimus, quod ego ignoro, amice tecum conferre gestio, ut exiguus qui forte restare posset dissensus tollatur. Plures tecum de hoc capite contulisse non miror. Materia est intricata & diversis philosophorum ac theologorum sententiis semper agitata.

tata. Primus, meo judicio, *Episcopus*, in tractatu de *libero arbitrio* & contra Cameronem, eam clarius explicuit, ostenditque intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera inter se & ab anima distinctas, uti hactenus in scholis creditum fuit, sed animam immediate per se ipsam intelligere ac velle. Porro licet non iisdem tecum vocibus ac phrasibus utatur, in summa tamen rei, quantum ego percipio, est consensus. Gratias interim tibi ago, quod multa me libri tui editione docueris. Ego eum iteratò evolvere statui; secunda enim lectione multo distinctius eum intelligo. Deum precor ut diu te nobis incolumem ac prospera fruentem valetudine conservet. Uxor ac filia te salutant. Salveat quam officiosissime à me, uxore & filia, Domina Masham ejusque liberi. Vale.

Amstelod.

30 Mar. 1701.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.



PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Magno honori mihi esse duco quod tu tantum lucubrationibus meis tribuas, ut in iis perlegendis bonas tuas horas locare velis: & eas tibi veritatis amatori non displicuisse gaudeo. Cum ego libertatem consistere dico, § 24. cap. xxi. lib. ii. in potentia agendi & non agendi, nequaquam id restringo ad solas actiones externas, uti constat ex § 8, 38. aliisque illius capitis locis: de hoc igitur inter nos convenit. Quando vero dicis quod *quicquid homo vult ab eo considerari ut jucundum*, metuo ne *voluntatem* cum *desiderio* confundas; quod à plerisque factum video, qui hoc argumentum tractant, non sine magno veritatis vel saltem perspicuitatis incommodo. *Desiderium* fertur in *jucundum* fateor, sed *voluntas* fertur solum in actiones nostras, & ibi terminatur: Sed quia *voluntas* raro agit nisi ducente *desiderio*, ideo pro uno eodemque actu plerumque sumuntur, cum toto cœlo distent, § 30, 40. *Cupido* enim passio est mota à bono absente. *Volitio* autem actus *voluntatis* vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Hæ duæ operationes animæ, scil. illa quæ cupit aliquid, & illa quæ determinat vel imperat aliquid agendum, nisi distinguantur probe, nihil dilucide, ut mihi videtur, de humana voluntate statui potest: ideoque spero ignoscas mihi quod de ista loquendi forma te monitum velim, cum de summa rei à me omnino non dissentias. In usu vocis *indifferentia* quod à vestris differam non mirum est, dum in
his

his scribendis nec aliorum placita secutus sum, nec vel scripta omnino consuluerim, sed quæ res ipsæ me, quantum indagatione & meditatione assequi poteram, docuerint, ea verbis quam potui aptissimis explicuerim. De terminorum igitur usu nulla inter nos erit disputatio, modo de re ipsa constet. Quamvis, ut libere dicam, ista antecedens *indifferentia* hominis, qua homo, ante determinationem sive decretum voluntatis, supponitur libertatem habere se determinandi ad alterutram partem oppositorum, non omnino mihi videtur spectare ad quæstionem de libertate; quia libertas unice consistit in potentia agendi vel non agendi secundum determinationem voluntatis. Disputare autem an homo ante ultimum iudicium intellectus libertatem habet se determinandi ad alterutrum oppositorum, mihi videtur omnino de nihilo sive de re impossibili disputatio. Quis enim rogaret, vel quorsum attinet rogare, an homo potest ad alterutram partem oppositorum se determinare in statu, in quo se non potest omnino determinare? Nam ante iudicium intellectus non potest se omnino determinare, ideoque frustra quæritur an in illo statu libertatem habet se determinandi in alterutram, ubi in neutram omnino partem potest se determinare. Ideoque omnes illæ lites, quæ agitantur de libertate se in alterutram partem determinandi ante iudicium intellectus, mihi videntur (ignoscas fatenti) nullo modo pertinere ad quæstionem de libertate: quæ ne supponi quidem debet nec potest, in statu in quo manifestum est quod homo ut agens liberum non potest agere, cum libertas, ut dixi, consistat in sola potentia agendi vel non agendi consequenter & congrue ad determinationem voluntatis. Ita autem sæpe usu venit: Disputantium fervor &

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partium studium rebus per se claris nubem & caliginem obducunt, dum undique conquistis laqueis alter alterum innodare & absurdis involvere conatur. Vides quam libere tecum agam, eandem à te libertatem vicissim expectans; si enim tu meæ vel ego tuæ opinioni assentior, perinde est veritatem quærentibus, dummodo illius potior habetur sententia quæ verior, & in ea consentiamus. In aliis libri mei partibus, dum percurras, si quid minus recte dictum vel cogitatum invenias, moneri imo & redargui à te cupio. Vale, Vir optime, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 21 Maii,
1701.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Eodem die quo nuperrime ad te mane scripsi, literas tuas 27 Maii datas vespere accepi. Vitam Episcopii summa cum voluptate perlegi. Historia placet, res gestæ plane displicent. Doleo sane reformatos tam propere mores pontificios, de quibus tam graviter questi sunt, imitatos. Sed scire juvat quod cognitum laudare non possis. Inquisitionem quæ in ecclesia Romana lentius succrevit, uno quasi nixu inceptam & pene perfectam hic conspicere mihi videor. An has protestantium inter se inimicitias & mutuas persecu-
tiones

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 377

tiones jam castigaturus sit Deus, nescio: hoc saltem credo, theologorum ambitiosa dissidia, & invicem dominandi in fratres cupido, orbem reformatum antiquis hostibus denuo obruendum objecit, & in tantum periculum adduxit. Avertat Deus O. M. omen, nec ad persecutionem tam proclives animos persecutione catholica puniat. Unum est quod in libro tuo desidero, nempe articulos illos quinque Remonstrantium, quorum tam frequens est mentio. Hos, vel quod in propria lectione non observatos præterierim, vel quod eos Historiæ tuæ non inseruisti, ignorare me fateor. Rogo igitur ut mihi indicare velis ubi eos legere possim; magnam enim lucem, ut mihi videtur, præbebunt causam Remonstrantium penitus cognoscere cupienti: nam iterum, credo, perlegam hanc tuam historiam. Maximas pro hoc dono gratias ago. Vive diu utilis religioni christianæ. Vale, & me ama

Oates, 1 Jun.
1701.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.



JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir. amplissime,

Vitam Episcopii tibi, summi judicii viro, non displicuisse est, quod mihi gratuler. Multa exteris ignota ibi esse præterita, quia nobis notissima, nullus dubito. Quinque autem articulos nostros, quorum decidendorum causa synodus Dor-dracena convocata fuit nulli ignotos credebam. In explicatione sententiæ Arminii, p. 6. in vita Episcopii, ego eos brevi in compendio exhibui. Exstant autem in Remonstrantia Ordinibus Hollandiæ, CIO IOC X oblata, quam reperies in Epistolis præstantium Virorum à me editis n° cxlv. p. 254. vel in Historia Quinquarticulana Petri Heilini Anglica, cap. 5. p. 50. Si altera Vitæ Episcopii editio aliquando prodeat, possem illi quinque illos articulos aliaque quædam non sine Episcopio gesta, aut ipsum ipsiusve consanguineos spectantia, hic illic inferere, quæ ad Historiæ nostræ cognitionem penitiorem haud exigui futura sunt momenti. Continuavit Brancius noster senior historiam usque ad finem anni CIO IO CXXIII. in qua gravis illa contra nostros persecutio exacte describitur; verum ille hætenus lucem non adspexit; & præ metu ne edatur, synodus Hollan-dica jam ab aliquot annis deputatis suis in mandatis dedit, ut solícite invigilent, ne illa alicubi imprimatur. Nolunt enim mysteria illa iniquitatis revelare. Utinam historiam suam continuâisset ad annum usque CIO IO CXXXII. quo persecutioni ubique ferme in patria nostra finis est impositus, nobisque palam in cœtus religiosos con-

convenire non fuit prohibitum. Ex illius lectione deprehendere posses veritatem dicti cujusdam Monachi, quod Marnixius refert in epistola ad Casparum Verheiden, inter Epist. selectas à Belgis vel ad Belgas, anno 1617, à Baudio & Heinsio editas, cent. 2, epist. 51. *Haud æque diu reformatorum ollam calefactam fuisse, atque illorum quos tantopere incesserent; videre se plane, antequam per sæculorum intervallum labatur, parem utrobique imperii ecclesiastici fore rationem.* Scripta est hæc epistola ult. Mart. 1577.

Legi, relegi, & serio expendi quæ de libertate scribis; sed non deprehendi illum inter nos esse consensum, quem lecto illo *de potentia* capite credidi. Quia uterque unice veritatem quærimus, paulo distinctius terminos quibus usus sum explicabo, & si qui aptiores sint, illis lubens utar; amo enim perspicuitatem; & in veritatis inquisitione omnem verborum ambiguitatem quantum fieri potest vitandam judico. Putas non recte dici nos velle jucundum, illud esse desiderium non voluntatem. Desiderium enim ferri in bonum absens, volitionem autem esse actum voluntatis vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Facile ego hoc discrimen admitto, & ut perspicuitatis causa unicuique verbo suam tribuamus significationem utile esse existimo. Verum ego puto nos duo velle, finem & media quæ ad finem ducunt. Multa desideramus quæ tamen non volumus. Est enim desiderium aliud completum, aliud incompletum; sicut & voluptas alia est completa, alia incompleta, quam barbaro vocabulo in scholis vocant *velleitatem*, qua designamus non quid homo proprie velit, sed quid vellet. Prudentis est ex multis desiderabilius illud eligere, sibi que omnium suarum actionum finem
pro-

proponere, quod undequaque est perfectum, & in quo concurrunt omnes rationes quæ rem desiderabilem faciunt. Atqui illa electio non fit sine determinatione voluntatis, qua homo decernit hoc bonum, quod omnibus aliis præferendum judicat, sibi omnium suarum actionum finem proponere. Ita ego credidi recte posse dici hominis voluntatem in bonum ferri, idque bonum semper ab ipso apprehendi ut jucundum. Si vero credas actionem qua ferimur in bonum illud, improprie dici voluntatem, sed debere appellari desiderium, quia fertur in bonum absens, te termino non contendam, modo de illius significatione constet. Ut ergo omnis ambiguitas vitetur, dicamus desiderium ferri in bonum, voluntatem dirigere actiones. Sed caveamus ne quævis desideria confundamus, & desideria completa distinguamus ab incompletis, quæ velleitates, voce in scholis usitata, appellari solent. Si vero aliud aptius vocabulum indicare possis, eo lubens utar, ut omnis, quantum fieri potest, obscuritas & ambiguitas in sermone nostro vitetur.

Quod attinet vocem *indifferentia*, certum est nostros ea non raro esse in hac materia usos: verum eam non adeo deperimus, quin si commodior nobis offeratur eam repudiaturi simus; eoque magis quia videmus philosophos Cartesianos ea sensu à nostro plane alieno uti: illis enim *indifferentia* est fluctuatio judicii; quando mens, ex rationum pro utraque parte æquilibrio, incerta est quid sibi eligendum sit. Nobis vero *indifferentia* est vis illa animæ, qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere. Verum in tota hac de libertate disputatione video sæpe ludi verbis ambiguis, aut saltem in ambiguum sensum detortis. Optandum foret omnia

verba eodem significatu ab omnibus accipi; multæ inanes disceptationes & λογوماχίαι vitari possent. Nunc quoniam in significatione verborum convenire non possumus, necesse est ut quisque explicet, quo significatu unaquaque voce, de qua contenditur, utatur. Circa rem ipsam video nos dissentire. Dicis, *Ista antecedens indifferentia, qua homo ante determinationem sive decretum voluntatis supponitur libertatem habere se determinandi ad alterutram partem oppositorum, non omnino mihi videtur spectare ad questionem de libertate; quia libertas unice consistit in potentia agendi vel non agendi secundum determinationem voluntatis.* Mihi plane contrarium videtur, libertatem unice consistere in potentia qua homo actionem volendi potest determinare vel non determinare: &, si eam homo ante voluntatis determinationem non habet, quod non sit liber, neque ullus status concipi possit in quo liber dici queat. Quia enim voluntas actionum nostrarum domina est, easque pro arbitrio moderatur, si determinatio voluntatis non sit libera, nec in actionibus nostris ulla erit libertas, quia actiones nostræ voluntatis determinationem necessario sequuntur. Quare vix capio quid velis, cum dicis ante ultimum iudicium intellectus homo non potest se omnino determinare. Verum antequam hic sententiam meam explicem, quid per ultimum iudicium intellectus significetur propius explicandum est, ne hic propter ambiguitatem vocis in oratione nostra aliqua sit obscuritas. Communiter ultimum intellectus iudicium vocant, quo homo decernit quid sibi faciendum sit, idque vocant ultimum iudicium practicum intellectus; verum hoc iudicium non est tam actus intellectus quam voluntatis, vel saltem actus mixtus, ad cu-
jus

jus complementum voluntas concurrat. Judicium
 autem, quod solius intellectus actus est, non ulte-
 rius procedit quam hoc oportet facere, hoc opor-
 tet omittere. Uterius si procedat, intercedit ali-
 qua actio voluntatis. Quæ duo tamen à multis
 confunduntur. Jam mea est sententia hominem,
 quando rectæ rationi consentaneè agit, semper
 velle quod intellectus judicat oportere fieri: posse
 tamen etiam contra rationem agere, & voluntatem
 in contrariam partem determinare: quin &, an-
 tequam intellectus post accuratum rationum exa-
 men judicaverit quid facere oporteat, posse bruto
 impetu agere non quod rationi consentaneum est,
 sed quod concupiscentia dictat. Hic si homo non
 habet libertatem se determinandi aut non deter-
 minandi, & actionem suam suspendendi, videre
 nequeo in quo libertas consistat. Eandem tuam
 esse putabam sententiam, idque colligebam ex
 § 47. capitis supra nominati, ubi inter alia ais,
animam quæ habet potentiam suspendendi imple-
tionem cujusunque desiderii sui, sicuti evidenter
patet per experientiam, consequenter, etiam habere
libertatem ea successive unum post alterum confide-
randi, eorum objecta examinandi, ea ex omni parte
observandi, & inter se comparandi; & in hoc
consistere libertatem hominis: omnemque erroris
 & vitiorum originem inde arcessis, quod præci-
 pitemus judicium, voluntatemque nostram cito nimis
 determinemus, & actioni nos accingamus antequam
 bene examinaverimus quid agere nos oporteat.
 Hæc aliaque quæ ibi addis verissima esse judico;
 iisque plane assentior. Verum hæc cum iis quæ
 epistola scribis, quod homo ante judicium intel-
 lectus se non potest omnino determinare, conciliare
 non possum. Fortasse mentem tuam non bene
 percepi. Rogo itaque, si grave non sit, ut osten-
 das,

Mr. Locke and several of his Friends. 383

das, qua ratione hæc inter se conciliare debeam, & distinctius quod ego non plene percepi explices. Nulli opinioni, nedum phrasi aut voci, ita sum addictus, quin meliora monstranti cedere paratus sim: veritatem enim unice quæro, quam si invenero, de errore triumphabo.

Hæc scripseram, cum ad me exemplar Latinum tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano affertur; pro quo eximio dono ego summas tibi habeo ac ago gratias. Statui illud à capite ad calcem perlegere, & cum elegantissima versione Gallica conferre, quæ proculdubio Latinæ nonnunquam lucem scenerabitur: & quando integrum tractatum perlegero, candide tibi iudicium meum scribam, non quia necesse est, sed quia id à me exigis, id que ego tibi petenti me debere agnosco. Verum quantum ex Gallicæ versionis lectione percepi, me sententiæ tuæ approbatorem habebis: si vero ad quædam hæsitavero, ea tibi candide indicabo, ut pleniorum eorum explicationem ex te eliciam. Deum precor ut tibi vitam ac vires continuat, ut egregiis tuis laboribus orbi literato porro prodesse possis. Salutant te uxor ac filia. Salutem à nobis officiosissimam dices Dominæ Masham, totique familiæ. Vale.

Amstelod.

Tui amantissimus,

19 Julii, 1701.

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD omnis obscuritas & ambiguitas in verborum usu sit vitanda tecum plane sentio: verum liceat mihi adjicere, quod hoc sæpe non fit etiam à volentibus evitare obscuritatem. Ideæ, quæ obversantur hominum mentibus, præsertim eorum qui veritatem attentius quærunt, multo plures sunt quam voces cujusvis linguæ, quæ ad eas exprimendas paratæ sunt. Hinc fit quod homines (quibus integrum non est nova vocabula quoties opus est ad novas ideas significandas ad libitum procudere) eadem voce pro diversis ideis, præsertim si cognatæ sint, identidem utuntur: unde oritur non raro sermonis obscuritas & incertus sensus, quando ad præcisiones accuratas veniendum est, quo non solum audientium sed & ipsorum etiam loquentium mentes implicantur. Inter alia quæ proposui, lib. iii. cap. xi. huic malo remedia, illud mihi præcipuum videtur, sc. ut diligenter colligamus omnes simplices ideas quæ ingrediuntur compositionem cujuslibet ideæ complexæ cujus nomen usurpamus, easque eidem voci affixas sedulo in animo teneamus. *V. g.* in argumento quod præ manibus habemus, si *voluntas* significat potentiam quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis sui, ut ego fufius explicui, lib. ii. cap. xxi. § 5, &c. in quo tu etiam acquiescere videris: si hæc, inquam, sit idea quam vox *voluntas* significat, eamque præsentem in animo habemus quando de voluntate loquamur, nihil certius esse potest,

potest, quam quod voluntas terminatur solummodo in actionibus nostris, nec potest ulterius extendi ad rem aliquam aliam, nec ferri in bonum remotum & absens. Adeoque si contendis voluntatem ferri in bonum ut finem, recedis ab ea idea quam huic voci assignavimus, aliamque substituis; unde fit quod tu & ego diversas res designamus quando de voluntate loquimur, nec omnino possumus inter nos de voluntate differentes quicquam proficere, donec tu ideam indices cujus apud te vox *voluntas* signum est, ut de sensu vocis, i. e. de re qua differimus conveniamus.

Distinctio de *desiderio completo & incompleto*, sive de *voluntate completa & incompleta*, quam affers, nihil mihi videtur argumentum tuum juvare. Sive enim aliquod sit *incompletum desiderium*, vel *incompleta voluntas*, quod sane dubito, id nunquam efficiet ut sit verum, quod voluntas fertur in bonum. Dico me dubitare an aliqua potest esse *incompleta volitio*; *voluntas* enim hic, ni fallor, sumitur pro actu voluntatis, i. e. pro volitione. Volitionem inefficacem facile agnosco, ut cum paralyticus manum paralyti solutam movere velit, inefficax fateor, & sine successu est ista volitio, sed non *incompleta*. Actus enim volendi hoc in casu æque completus est, ac olim quando manus volitioni obsequabatur. Itidem desiderium alicujus propositi boni, quod propter majus bonum incompatible prosequi negligimus, non est *incompletum desiderium*, nec *incompleta voluntas*, sed desiderium completum brevi terminatum, eo usque non procedens ut nos impellat ad volendum actiones quibus obtineri possit illud bonum in quod ferebatur breve illud desiderium: nec *incompleta* dici potest *voluntas* ubi nulla om-

nino est volitio, etiamsi scholæ *velleitatem* appellare ament. Quod si breve illud desiderium eorumque procedat, ut nos ad volendum aliquam actionem excitet, *voluntas* illa non est *incompleta*, sed completus actus volendi, etiamsi omissa ulteriore inefficax sit ad obtinendum bonum propositum quod cessante desiderio negligitur. In his & huiusmodi mentis actionibus adeo celeres sunt motus animi, & inter se conjuncti, ut non mirum sit, quod sæpe, uti fit, confundantur, quæ attentius consideranti distinguenda sunt, ut recte conceptus nostros formemus. Vis libere dicam quid hac de re sentio. Homo fertur in bonum absens sive finem. Multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, sibi proponit ut finem, i. e. ut prosequendum, hoc facit voluntarie, adeoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis sibi proponit ut finem, & in ea actione terminatur, eodem modo quo terminatur in computatione quando vult numerare, vel in motionem pedum quando vult ambulare. Ob hanc voluntariam propositionem istius boni, ut finis, fateor, non raro dicitur vulgo quod voluntas fertur in eum finem vel in id bonum, an proprie & ut philosophicam decet *enunciare*, tu judices.

Quanta sit vis consuetudinis in usu verborum, quæ irrepit subinde nobis in seipsis, patet, ut mihi videtur, ex iis quæ in epistola tua sequuntur. In priorē epistola libens & aperte mecum consentire videris, quod actiones sunt agentium sive substantiarum, & non potentiarum sive facultatum: & tamen hic usitata loquendi forma te abduci patet, dicisque quod *voluntas est actionum nostrarum domina easque præ arbitrio moderatur*, & similia

milia passim in toto illo epistolæ tuæ paragrapho ; quod ni fecisses, nulla arbitror mihi tecum lis esset. Hoc non dico quod adeo delicatulus sim, ut hujusmodi loquendi formulas nullo in loco pati possim : earum usus in sermone familiari, si recte intelligantur, non omnino vituperandus : Quando vero in disceptationibus philosophicis pro fundamentis argumentorum, quasi iis inniteretur rerum veritas, omnino rejiciendæ sunt metaphoricæ & tralatitiæ hujusmodi locutiones, ne nos in errorem inducant : resque ipsæ, uti revera sunt, propriis & non figuratis vocabulis exprimendæ : v. g. dicere *quod voluntas sit actionum nostrarum domina, easque pro arbitrio moderatur*, & inde arguere quod *nisi voluntas sit libera nulla erit in homine libertas*, est, ut mihi videtur, ex vi metaphoræ illius nos in errorem conjicere. *Libertas* apud me est *potestas hominis agendi vel non agendi secundum suam voluntatem* ; scil. si homo potest agere hoc, si vult agere hoc, & abstinere è contra ab agendo hoc ; quando vult abstinere ab agendo hoc, eo in casu liber est homo. Hanc esse veram libertatis notionem videtur mihi constare ex iis quæ à me dicta sunt § 8, & seqq. Quæ si vera sit, inde omnino sequitur libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, uti monstravi § 14. Imo inde sequitur quod illa *antecedens indifferentia ante decretum voluntatis*, nullo modo, ut dixi, pertinet ad quæstionem de libertate. Si enim libertas sit potentia agendi actionem quam vult homo, & vicissim abstinendi ab eadem actione, si ab ea homo vult abstinere ; quid facit, rogo, ista antecedens indifferentia ad libertatem, quæ est potentia agendi vel non agendi consequenter ad voluntatis determinationem ?

Quandoquidem vero inciderit quaestio de ista vestra *antecedente indifferentia*, cui vos omnem inniti libertatem contenditis, de ea liceat mihi paulo distinctius inquirere. Hæc *indifferentia* definitur à te *vis animi qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere*. Jam hic rogo an intellectus, iudicium, vel cogitatio sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum?

1. Si dicas quod intellectus, iudicium, vel cogitatio sit unum ex *requisitis ad agendum*, vestra *antecedens indifferentia* nunquam efficiet ut voluntas sit libera (quamvis eum in finem, ut inde adstrui possit voluntatis libertas, excogitata & introducta videtur) quia, ut dixi, aliqua actione semel intellectui proposita, voluntas non est in statu in quo potest agere vel non agere (in quo, ut mihi videtur, consistit libertas) necessario debet agere; nec potest abstinere ab agendo, i. e. à volendo, actionem illam scilicet, vel illius omissionem. Imo vero voluntas eo in statu non est indifferens ad alterutram partem oppositorum, nempe ad actionem propositam, vel ejus omissionem, quia determinatur à præcedente intellectus iudicio, actionem illam vel ejus omissionem præferente.

2. Si dicas quod intellectus, iudicium, sive cogitatio, non sit unum ex *requisitis ad agendum*; videas quæso, dum hominem hoc modo liberum reddere velis, an non agentem cæcum plane efficis; & ut liberum facias, ab eo intellectum removes, sine quo nec esse nec supponi potest libertas ulla. Ad res enim cogitatione & intellectu destitutas nulla omnino attinet libertas. Perpende igitur quæso & tecum cogita, an libertas hominis recte fundari potest in ejusmodi statu qui excludit cogitationem, redditque lapidem æque capacem libertatis; an illa indifferentia pertinere potest ad quæ-

quæstionem de libertate, quæ seposita cogitatione nullum locum in subjecto relinquit libertati.

Hæc omnia ita se habent ex mea libertatis notione, quam fusius traditam invenies § 8, 13. Quod si tu alium isti voci sensum tribuas, forsan hæc omnes evanescunt difficultates. Sed tunc rogandus es ut tuam libertatis definitionem ad me mittas, si de diversis rebus sub eodem nomine differentes nolumus sine fructu disputare.

Ex his, quæ supra dixi, mihi constare videtur quod libertas nullatenus consistit in indifferentia hominis, sed solummodo in potentia agendi vel non agendi prout volumus. Exemplo forsan res clarior erit. Homo, v. g. amat vinum, judicat sibi bonum esse, ex voluntate sua bibit: nulla hic indifferentia est, & tamen libera prorsus est hæc actio, quia si modo mutaverit voluntatem potest abstinere. Contra, homo vinum nec amat nec averfatur, nec judicat sibi bonum aut malum esse; supponamus quantamlibet hominis indifferentiam: ex voluntate abstinet à vino in carcere, ubi vinum non permittitur. Hæc actio, nempe abstinencia à potione vini, est voluntaria fateor, sed non est libera; quoniam homo ille si mutet voluntatem, vinum tamen in eo casu bibere non potest. Vides igitur quod indifferentia potest esse sine libertate, & libertas sine indifferentia; & actio voluntaria sine utraque. Hæc me res ipsæ per se planè docere videntur. Imo vero res ipsæ melius forsan & simplicius nos docerent multa, si scholarum subtilitas in procudendis facultatibus, distinctionibus, aliisque speciosis inventis mire acuta, non obduceret sæpe rebus in se clavis operosam & doctam obscuritatem.

Dicis porro, quod *Libertas consistit in potentia quâ homo actionem volendi potest determinare, vel*

non determinare. Si per *actionem volendi determinare, vel non determinare*, significas velle aut non velle; libertas in eo consistere non potest: quia aliqua actione homini proposita, homo non potest abstinere à volitione, debet necessario velle aut actionem illam propositam, aut abstinentiam ab ista actione; quantumvis levis & instantanea præcedat mentis cogitatio, semper & necessario sequitur actus volendi, quo actio proposita vel eligitur vel negligitur: & ita voluntas præcedente cogitatione semper determinatur ad agendum, i. e. ad volendum, scil. existentiam vel non existentiam actionis propositæ. Quod si per *potentiam qua homo actionem volendi potest determinare vel non determinare*, significas potentiam quicquid temere volendi, vel sine prævia cogitatione, vel contra intellectus judicium, uti sequentia verba videntur innuere, ubi dicis, *nisi determinatio voluntatis sit libera*, & loqueris de *bruto impetu*: libertas in hujusmodi potentia non potest consistere; quia, ut dixi, libertas supponit cogitationem. Ubi enim nulla est cogitatio nulla esse potest libertas, uti fusius explicui § 8, & 9. Porro, libertas non potest consistere in potentia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus, quia homo non habet hujusmodi potentiam. Actio enim volendi hoc aut illud semper sequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat nunc hoc & nunc illud esse melius. Ex quo facile est intelligere, quid velim, cum dico, ante ultimum judicium intellectus homo non potest omnino se determinare: hocque facile conciliare possis cum iis quæ citas ex § 47. de suspensione impletionis cujusunque desiderii, si modo memineris quod ante unamquamque volitionem præcedit semper judicium aliquod intellectus de re agenda; judicium-

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que

que illud quod immediate præcedit volitionem five actum volendi est eo in casu ultimum iudicium intellectus. Quod te in diversum abripuit mihi videtur hoc esse, nempe quod ultimum iudicium intellectus videris confundere cum maturo & recto iudicio, si recte capio sensum istius sententiæ ubi hæc verba lego: *Intellectus post accuratum rationum examen judicaverit quid facere oporteat, &c.* Sed id non est ultimum iudicium de quo ego loquor. Loquor ego de eo iudicio quod in omni volitione immediate præcedit volitionem, quod revera est ultimum iudicium, five bene expensum sit & matura deliberatione recoctum, five extemporaneum & subito impetu enatum; & æque voluntatem determinat, five sit five non sit rationi consentaneum.

Si meum sensum in his satis recte & clare exposui, non apparebit tibi, credo, hæc relegendi tanta inter nos opinionum distantia, quantum credidisti: pro certo habeo nos veritatem utrinque sincere quærentes non posse diu de rebus ipsis dissentire, quanquam loquendi formulæ videantur nonnunquam in diversum abire. Sed de rebus ipsis cogitantibus facile erit phraseologiæ nebulas discutere, ex quibus fere oriuntur inter veritatis amatores omnes controversiæ.

En prolixiore epistola tibi explicationem sententiæ meæ poscenti, ut potui, morem gessi. Ignoscas, rogo, quod toties citaverim librum meum; hoc feci brevitatis causa, ne hic in epistola ea rescriberem quæ in libro impresso melius legeres.

De duabus versionibus monere te convenit, ut sicubi inter se dissentientes reperias de sensu meo ex Gallica dijudices. Illam enim mihi auctor totam perlegit, & ubi à sensu meo aberrare de-

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prehendi, correxit. Latinam nondum mihi legere contigit. Valetudo & negotia non satis otii concesserunt. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 12 Aug.
1701.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Postquam quæ supra habentur scripseram, mihi venit in mentem non incommodum fore si aliquid libro meo infererem, ad elucidandam *indifferentiæ* naturam in qua consistit libertas, in gratiam eorum qui *indifferentiam* hoc in argumento tanti faciunt, ut illa ablata vel omissa nihil recte vel clare statui de libertate posse existimant. En igitur quæ § 71. subjungenda censui. Ego Anglice scripsi: Gallice vertit D. Coste, adeoque si probas Gallicæ versionis libri mei inferere possis.

Liv. II. Chap. XXI. § 71. après ces mots, par son propre jugement, ajoutez ce qui suit.

Je sçai que certaines gens font consister la liberté dans une certaine Indifference de l'homme, antecedente à la détermination de sa volonté. Je souhaiterois que ceux qui font tant de fonds sur cette indifference antecedente, comme ils parlent, nous eussent dit nettement si cette indifference, qu'ils supposent, précède la pensée & le jugement de l'entendement aussi bien que le decret de la volonté; car il est bien mal-aisé de la placer entre ces deux termes, je veux dire immédiatement après le jugement de l'entendement, & devant la détermination de la volonté,

volonté, parce que la détermination de la volonté suit immédiatement le jugement de l'entendement : & d'ailleurs, placer la liberté dans une indifférence qui précède la pensée & le jugement de l'entendement, c'est, ce me semble, faire consister la liberté dans un état de tenebres où nous ne pouvons ni voir ni dire ce que c'est : c'est du moins la placer dans un sujet incapable de liberté, nul agent n'étant jugé capable de liberté qu'en conséquence de la pensée, & du jugement qu'on reconnoit en lui. Comme je ne suis pas délicat en matière d'expressions, je consens à dire avec ceux qui aiment à parler ainsi, que la liberté est placée dans l'Indifférence ; mais c'est dans une sorte d'indifférence qui reste après le jugement de l'entendement, & même après la détermination de la volonté : ce qui n'est pas une indifférence de l'homme (car après que l'homme a une fois jugé ce qu'il est meilleur de faire ou de ne pas faire, il n'est plus indifférent) mais une indifférence des puissances actives ou opératives de l'homme, lesquelles demeurant tout autant capables d'agir, ou de ne pas agir après qu'avant le décret de la volonté, sont dans un état qu'on peut appeller, si l'on veut, indifférence : & aussi loin que s'étend cette indifférence, jusques-là l'homme est libre, & pas au delà. Par exemple, j'ai la puissance de mouvoir ma main, ou de la laisser en repos ; cette faculté opérative est indifférente au mouvement & au repos de ma main : je suis donc libre à cet égard. Ma volonté vient à déterminer cette puissance opérative au repos, je suis encore libre, parce que l'indifférence de cette puissance opérative qui est en moi, d'agir ou de ne pas agir, reste encore ; la puissance de mouvoir ma main n'étant nullement diminué par la détermination de ma volonté, qui à présent ordonne le repos ; l'indifférence de cette

puissance

puissance à agir ou ne pas agir, est justement telle qu'elle étoit auparavant, comme il paroît si la volonté veut en faire l'épreuve en ordonnant le contraire. Mais si pendant que ma main est en repos, elle vient à être saisie d'une soudaine paralysie, l'indifférence de cette puissance operative est détruite, & ma liberté avec elle : je n'ai plus de liberté à cet égard, mais je suis dans la nécessité de laisser ma main en repos. D'un autre côté si ma main est mise en mouvement par une convulsion, l'indifférence de cette faculté operative s'évanouit ; & en ce cas-là ma liberté est détruite, car je me trouve dans la nécessité de laisser mouvoir ma main. J'ai ajouté ceci pour faire voir dans quelle sorte d'indifférence il me paroît que la liberté consiste précisément, & qu'elle ne peut consister dans aucune autre, réelle ou imaginaire.

JOANNI LOGKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

QUOD tantum mea causa laborem susceperis, ut prolixiori epistola sententiam tuam mihi distinctius explicare non fueris gravatus, maximas tibi habeo gratias : legi, relegi, expendi epistolam tuam magna cum attentione. Quanto exactius eam expendo, tanto magis observare videor, nos non tam sententiis, quam phrasibus ac loquendi modis discrepare, & quandoque diversas ideas iisdem, nonnunquam easdem ideas diversis vocibus designare. Respondissem citius, verum consulto responsum distuli, donec integrum tuum tracta-

tractatum perlegissem. Eo jam perlecto, & cum epistola tua collato, magis magisque observare videor, omnem qui inter nos apparet diffensum, non tam circa rem ipsam quam circa voces, ac diversam ejusdem rei explicandæ rationem occupari. Quia vero non ubique phrasium mearum sensum recte percepisse videris, & ut, quicquid fortasse adhuc inter nos restat diffensus, paucis & in compendio comprehendendi possit, *primo* sensum vocum ac phrasium quibus usus sum quanta possum perspicuitate explicabo: *deinde* phrasibus clavis & ambiguitati non obnoxiiis sententiam meam quanta possum brevitate exponam. Tandem inquiram in quibus consentiamus, & quis adhuc remaneat diffensus; utrumne ille in re ipsa, an vero in vocibus ac phrasibus, & diversa rem quam inquirimus explicandi ratione consistat. Ita puto, si fortasse nondum per omnia idem sentiamus, brevi omnem diffensum sublatum iri, nec veritatem sincere eam quærentibus diu absconditam fore.

Significationem voluntatis, quod sit *potentia quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis*, ego tecum agnosco, & ab ea non recedam: à voluntate etiam distinguo desiderium quo ferimur in bonum absens, neque id unquam sub notione voluntatis comprehendam. Agnosco hic me minus exacte locutum, & desiderium à voluntate esse distinguendum. Quod dixi, voluntatem etiam ferri in finem, nihil aliud volui nisi quod tu ipse in epistola tua dicis; *Multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, hominem unum neglectis aliis sibi proponere ut finem, & ut prosequendum: hoc facit voluntarie*. Hæc ergo electio est actio voluntatis: quando hanc
sibi

sibi electionem fecit homo, desiderio suo fertur in bonum illud quod sibi elegit; & voluntate sua dirigit actiones suas, quibus se bonum desideratum consecuturum credit.

Vox *libertas* mihi designat dominium quod homo habet in actionem suam: quo nempe positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere & non agere: qui non est actionis suæ dominus, seu agere non potest quod vult, non est liber. Verum ego puto hoc ad omnes hominis actiones, sipe ulla exceptione, extendi, tam ad internas actiones mentis, quam externas corporis, adeo ut etiam actio volendi, quæ est interna mentis actio, sit libera. Quando autem dixi voluntatem esse actionum nostrarum dominam, nihil aliud volui, nisi actiones nostras externas dirigi à volitione nostra, adeo ut faciamus quæ volumus, & non faciamus quæ nolumus, nisi intercedat cohibitio, aut coactio: utraque enim illa libertatem destruit. Semel declaravi credere me animam seu mentem immediate, absque ullis intermediis facultatibus, intelligere & velle; per intellectum itaque & voluntatem, quotiescunque iis vocibus utor, aliud non intelligo nisi potentiam seu facultatem ipsius animæ qua elicit actionem intelligendi ac volendi, & quam actionem anima immediate exercet. Et hanc significationem te etiam admittere puto.

Supereſt ut dicam de *indifferentia*. De qua primo præmoneo, eam non esse nostram, uti tu credis, id est, à nobis inventam, aut ita à nobis adſcitam, ut pro ea tanquam necessario in hac quæſtione uſurpanda contendamus. Nihil minus. Nos diu illa voce uſi non fuimus: libertatem definiētes, eam ordinarie vocavimus dominium quod homo in actionem suam habet. In diſputatione autem contra illos theologos, qui intel-

lectum

lectum ac voluntatem statuunt duas esse facultates realiter & ab anima & à se invicem distinctas, quarum una tantum intelligit, nihil autem vult, altera tantum vult, nihil autem intelligit, hanc illorum sententiam hoc argumento oppugnauimus: quod per eam aut omnis libertas tollatur, aut omnis actio hominis reddatur bruta ac irrationalis. Aut enim voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, adeo ut necessario velit quod intellectus illi præscribit: atqui tum omnis actio necessaria est, quia omnis actio intellectus est necessaria: Aut non determinatur ab intellectu, sed seipsam determinat: atqui tum omnis actio voluntatis est bruta & irrationalis; quia supponitur voluntatem nihil intelligere, sed solummodo velle. Hujus argumenti ictum ut evitent, responderunt, radicem libertatis esse in intellectu; quia in intellectu est indifferentia, qua potest quodcunque objectum quod sibi offertur apprehendere & dijudicare. Responderunt nostri, eam esse tantum indifferentiam passivam, qualis est in oculo, qui etiam quævis objecta sibi occurrentia potest videre eorumque imagines recipere; quem tamen nemo propterea dixerit libere videre; quia non potest, quin quod sibi videndum proponitur videat: sicut non potest intellectus quin quod sibi clare proponitur comprehendat; aut dubitet de eo, pro quo utrinque æque graves militent rationes. Si vero libertas quærat in indifferentia, oportere eam esse activam, qua homo dominium habet in suam actionem. Exinde, quoniam alii vocem *indifferentiæ* adhibuerunt, nos, ut omnem in disputando ambiguitatem vitaremus, distinctionis causa addidimus vocem *activæ*, diximusque libertatem consistere in indifferentia activa, eamque residere in voluntate. Vides ergo, nos non pro hac voce

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velle decertare, nec eam à nobis esse excogitatam : sed nos vocem ab aliis usurpatam explicuisse, & additione vocis *activæ* significationem illius explanationem reddidisse. Interim non nego, nos postea quandoque etiam illa in scriptis nostris esse usos, quia juxta explicationem nostram accepta commodissima visa fuit, & idem significare cum phrasi antea à nobis usurpata, dominium in actiones nostras. Idque etiam constat ex definitione hujus indifferentiæ, quam in præcedente mea epistola dedi; quod sit vis illa animi, qua positus omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere: quod mihi aliud nihil est, quam quod homo dominium habet in actionem suam, ut possit prout ipsi placuerit, vel agere vel non agere. Itaque inter omnia ad agendum requisita vel maxime colloco intellectus judicium, quod præcedere debet; alias volendi actio mere esset irrationalis. Quando autem dico quod *possit agere* & *non agere*, mens mea non est, quod simul possit agere & non agere; aut nec agere nec non agere, seu nec velle nec non velle: hoc enim contradictorium est; sed quod potentia ad neutrum sit determinata, ac proinde ex duobus oppositis possit eligere quodcunque ipsi libitum fuerit; imo ubi jam se determinavit ad agendum, quod actionem suam sistere possit, & se rursus in partem oppositam determinare; hoc est, quod dominium habet in suam actionem. Ubi hoc non potest, non est liber. Sic recte mones, eum, qui volens in carcere à vino abstinet, non libere abstinere, quia non habet facultatem vinum bibendi: nec qui volens in carcere manet, libere manere, quia non habet facultatem exeundi. Sed vero alia est ratio actionum internarum quæ sola mente perficiuntur. Ad illarum libertatem nihil requiritur nisi libera determinatio

minatio voluntatis. Sic qui in carcere concupiscit alterius uxorem, eaque turpi concupiscentia se oblectat, eamque in animo fovet, libere concupiscit & peccat, licet ea concupiscentia intra solam delectationem morosam, uti scholastici loquuntur, consistat; ideoque ad ejus consummationem ipse externus adulterii actus non requiritur. Per *Brutum impetum* non intelligo actionem voluntatis sine ulla præcedente cogitatione; sic enim conciperem non hominem; sed præcipitaram actionem, ante debitum & accuratum illius examen: sicuti videmus multos homines vehementi affectu sæpe abripi, ut hoc aut aliud agere velint, antequam omnes actionis circumstantias, rationesque ac argumenta quibus ad eam incitari aut ab ea deterreri possint, rite consideraverint. Hanc ergo tribuo libertatem homini, ut quando actio ipsi proposita est, possit vel præcipitare judicium, vel mature omnes actionis circumstantias examinare, atque ita vel bruto impetu, vel prævio, maturo, ac deliberato consilio agere: ejusque libertatis unumquemque sibi esse conscium credo. Nec hoc omittendum, per *indifferentiam* me non intelligere statum, in quo homo quasi in æquilibrio est constitutus, nec in unam partem magis propendit quam in alteram; talis enim status indifferentiæ circa actiones morales in nullo homine reperitur: semper in unam partem magis propendemus quam in aliam in actionibus præsertim moralibus, prout vel affectibus agimur, aut consuetudo ac habitus nos erga virtutem aut vitia proniores reddidit: sed statum in quo homo potentiam habet se determinandi in quamcunque oppositorum partem velit: licet enim magis sit propensus in unam partem quam in alteram, non tamen dominium in actionem suam amisit, sed
in

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in alteram partem etiam se determinare potest. Verum quia vox *indifferentiæ* accipi potest pro statu, quo homo in neutram partem inclinat, sed plane in æquilibrio est constitutus, licet ille sensus directe explicationi nostræ adversetur, ad omnem vitandam amphibologiam, à voce illa abstinebo.

Ultimum intellectus judicium ego non confundo cum maturo & recto judicio; sed ibi distinguo ultimum judicium, quod sit vel maturum & rectum, vel pravum & præcipitatum, quod ibi vocavi brutum impetum, quia illud magis sequitur vehementem concupiscentiam carnalem, quam ductum rationis: utrumque est ultimum judicium, quando immediate actionem volendi antecedit, & inter illud actionemque volendi nullum aliud judicium intermedium est.

Ita explicatis terminis quibus usus sum, jam quanta possum brevitate & perspicuitate sententiam meam proponam. Eam his Thesibus comprehendo.

1. Homo est agens liberum, & habet dominium in actiones suas, illas vel faciendi, vel omitendi.
2. Intellectus & voluntas non sunt duæ facultates realiter ab anima hominis, & à se invicem distinctæ; sed anima per suam essentiam immediate intelligit & vult.
3. Homo nihil vult aut facit, nisi desiderio boni, aut sensu molestiæ ex absentia boni desiderati excitatus.
4. Actum volendi antecedit actus intelligendi, quo homo judicium fert de actione sua.
5. Judicium illud vel est prudens post adhibitum maturum rationum ab utraque parte militantium

tantium examen: vel est præcipitatum, & ab affectu magis quàm ratione dictatum.

6. Judicium hoc, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, non procedit ultra suasionem; hoc est eligibile, seu, hoc consentaneum est eligere, hoc consentaneum est rejicere: aut inter eligibilia hoc magis hoc minus est eligibile; inter fugienda, hoc magis hoc minus oportet fugere.

7. Judicium quo homo decernit, hoc est faciendum, est ipsa volitio; vel ad minimum actus mixtus ex intellectione & volitione, & ad cujus consummationem actus volendi concurrat.

8. Actus intelligendi, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, est necessarius, & nititur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum.

9. Actus volendi liber est, habetque homo dominium in illum, ac facultatem eum vel eliciendi vel non eliciendi. Si quæ ergo libertas in judicio est, ea procedit non ab actu intelligendi, sed volendi.

10. Actionum internarum, quæ sola mente perficiuntur, libertas consistit in libera mentis determinatione, qua actionem volendi vel elicere potest, vel cohibere. Ad libertatem vero actionum externarum, ad quarum consummationem concurrere debent membra externa, etiam requiritur ut homo habeat facultatem sive potentiam faciendi quod vult, & omittendi, seu non faciendi, quod non vult; sive liberum & non impeditum membrorum externorum usum.

Ita paucis explicata sententia mea, videamus nunc in quibus conveniamus, & quis inter nos supersit dissensus. Quando epistolam tuam conféro cum lib. ii. cap. xxi. *de potentia*, videor mihi posse dicere, nos in quinque primis Theſibus con-

sentire, nec de iis inter nos ullum esse dissensum. De ultima etiam nulla est inter nos controversia, nisi forte quod tu libertatem in sola potentia faciendi quod volumus, & non faciendi quod nolumus collocare videris; cum ego eam etiam ad ipsius voluntatis determinationem, seu volitionis actum extendam. De quo mox. Utroque etiam pollice amplector quod in epistola tua scribis; quod homo fertur in bonum absens, sive finem; & quod multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, homo unum neglectis aliis sibi proponit ut finem, id est, ut prosequendum: & hoc facit voluntarie: ideoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis qua unum præ reliquis sibi proponit ut finem; & in ea actione terminatur: eam autem voluntatis actionem sequitur desiderium finis. Hactenus ergo consentimus. Videamus quousque in reliquis consentiamus, & quis supersit dissensus.

Primo, non videmur convenire in definitione libertatis. Sic enim dicis: *Libertas apud me est potestas hominis agendi vel non agendi secundum suam voluntatem.* Quæ definitio mihi angusta nimis esse videtur: & si ea agnoscatur, tum certum est, libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati: sicut certum est, animam nunquam posse esse sine cogitatione, si vera sit definitio, Anima est cogitatio. Imo si hæc genuina sit definitio libertatis, fieri posset ut libertas consisteret cum summa necessitate: Ut mox ostendam. Ego autem puto libertatem esse dominium quod homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem, eamque extendi non tantum ad actiones, quas facit secundum suam voluntatem, sed & ad ipsum volendi actum, seu volitionem.

Quod

Quod sextam & septimam thesin attinet, nescio quouique in illis consentiamus, aut quis de illis inter nos sit dissensus. In postrema mea epistola idem jam affirmavi: verum tu nullam in tua epistola illius mentionem facis: itaque incertus sum quousque hic mecum sentias. Mihi evidens videtur, hominem iudicium suum determinare, quia vult acquiescere rationibus quas expendit; suspendere autem iudicium suum, quia nondum vult acquiescere; sed rationes aut exactius expendere; aut an sint plures, quibus iudicium ejus inclinare possit, inquirere. Atque ita determinationem ultimi iudicii, quo homo decernit, hoc est eligendum aut faciendum, si non totam, maximam saltem partem, esse actionem volendi.

Octava Thesis, qua statuo, omnem actum intellectus, quatenus merus intelligendi actus est, esse necessarium, nescio an inter nos controversa sit. Illam enim expresse asserere videris, lib. iv. cap. xiii. § 2. & cap. xx. § 16. At ea distinctius paulum explicanda est, ut pateat, an aliquis de ea sit dissensus. Hic ergo observo, quod res, quas intellectus percipit, sunt vel meræ theoreticæ, vel practicæ. Circa veritates theoreticas actio intellectus necessaria prorsus est: proposita veritate clara & evidenti, intellectus necessario assentitur, seu homo necessario eam percipit, illique assensum præbet: propositis argumentis verisimilibus tantum, homo necessario opinatur: propositis utrinque argumentis æqualis ponderis, homo, seu intellectus, necessario dubitat: omnesque hæc intelligendi actiones nituntur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum. Circa veritates practicas actio intelligendi, quatenus mera intelligendi actio est, & nulla intercedit actio volendi, etiam necessaria est; pro rationum enim momento quas

intellectus expendit, iudicat quid convenientius, quid minus conveniens, quid ex usu sit facere, vel non facere. Hoc iudicium ducit quidem voluntatem, verum eam non plene determinat: est enim illud imperium tantum suasionis, cui voluntas potest non obtemperare, seu homo potest aliud velle; determinatio autem procedit à voluntate, qua homo decernit, hoc est faciendum, eaque determinatio fit vel juxta suasionem intellectus, & tunc est rationalis; vel fieri potest contra eam, & tunc est irrationalis, hoc est, procedit ab affectu carnali, & suasioni intellectus neutiquam auscultat: vel etiam potest esse præceps & temeraria, ita ut maturum iudicium antevertat. Hic videmur dissentire: Dicis enim *hominem non habere potentiam determinandi actionem volendi contra iudicium intellectus: actio enim volendi hoc aut illud, semper sequitur iudicium intellectus, quo homo iudicat hoc & nunc illud esse melius.* Idem etiam videris affirmare in fine § 71. dicti capituli. Sed tamen quando hæc confero cum definitione voluntatis in tua epistola, quod sit *potentia quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis,* & cum § 47. c. xxi. & aliquot anteced. & seqq. dubito an multum dissentiamus, & an non magis diversitas sit in modo explicandi quam in re ipsa. Omnino enim mihi videris illic agnoscere libertatem quandam in iudicando. Dicis enim illic, *liberum esse menti appetitionum suarum objecta considerare, eas introspicere penitus, & utrum præponderet trutina diligenter examinare.* In hoc libertas hominis consistit: & quæ ibi porro egregia habes. Addis mox: *Indultam nobis potestatem voluntatem revocandi à prosecutione huius aut illius appetitionis.* Hic mihi videtur fons esse omnis libertatis, &c.

Ex

Ex iis enim liquere videtur, libertatem etiam ver-
fari in iudicio formando, imo ibi esse libertatis
fontem. Unde colligo libertatem (juxta tuam
explicationem) non solummodo consistere in po-
tentia faciendi quod volumus; sed etiam ante vo-
litionis actum, imo ante iudicium de actione sua,
hominem esse liberum & libertatem suam exer-
cere. Solummodo discrimen inter nos esset, an
iudicium ultimum quo decernitur, non hoc con-
venit facere, sed, hoc est faciendum, sit actio in-
telligendi mera; an vero ad id etiam concurrat
actio volendi? & an libertas resideat in actione
intelligendi, an volendi? sive, an id, quod in ju-
dicio, quo hominis actio determinatur, liberum
est, resideat in intellectu an volitione? Si in
eo consistat discrimen; puto facile sententias no-
stras conciliari posse: quamvis enim mihi per-
spicuum videatur, libertatem residere in actione
volendi, nihilque esse liberum, quin sit etiam vo-
luntarium; non tamen hic tantopere videmur posse
dissentire, quin facile ad consensum reducamur.
Cum enim uterque statuamus, intellectum & vo-
luntatem non esse duas potentias realiter ab anima
& à se invicem distinctas; sed hominem, seu ani-
mam, immediate per suam essentiam intelligere
ac velle, satis convenimus, quando uterque agnos-
cimus iudicium hominis ultimum libere determi-
nari: quando enim adest potentia faciendi quod
ultimum illud iudicium libere à nobis determi-
natum dicat, & non faciendi, seu omittendi quod
ultimo illo iudicio non esse faciendum decernitur,
homo plena fruitur libertate; solummodo contro-
vertitur, an illud iudicium, quod homo libere
format, & quo actiones ejus determinantur, sit
actio intellectus, an voluntatis? sic disquireretur
solummodo utra explicatio cum philosophica

~~arectia~~ melius conciliari posset, in re ipsa autem foret consensus. Si vero dicamus, omnem actionem intellectus esse necessariam, & ultimum illud judicium practicum esse merum intellectus actum, ac per illud voluntatem determinari; non video, quomodo ulla in homine reliqua sit libertas. Actiones enim omnes determinantur à voluntate, nisi homo aut cohibeatur quo minus facere possit quod vult, aut cogatur facere quod non vult; cohibitio enim & coactio, ut recte observas, repugnant libertati, & quando nostri juris sumus semper facimus quod volumus. Si autem voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, & intellectus actio sit necessaria; omnia erunt necessaria: nam à principio necessario, hoc est, judicio intellectus determinatur voluntas; à voluntate actiones: itaque homo ad actiones suas determinatus est; & licet potentiam habeat faciendi quod vult, & non faciendi quod non vult; potentia tamen illa, per antecedentem voluntatis determinationem ad unum determinata est. Atque sic mera in actionibus hominis regnaret necessitas. Prolixior paulo fui; sed prolixitatem, ut perspicue mentem meam explicarem, evitare vix potui. Si alicubi mentem tuam non recte aut non plene percepi, aut me à veritate aberrare credis, me libere moneas & instruas, rogo: veritatem enim unice sector. Et quoniam nunc plenius mentem meam explicui, brevius quicquid tibi non probetur indicare posses. Ut vero plenius sententiam nostram percipias, suaderem ut legas brevem Episcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio, qui exstat in Vol. I. Part II. p. 198. Operum ejus; & Epistolam illius, qua judicium suum profert de loco quodam ethices non edito: quæ est IOLV. inter Epistolas nostras Ecclesiasticas & Theologicas. Reliqua libri tui mihi

mihi valde probantur, multumque me ex illius lectione profecisse gratus agnosco. Lectionem ejus repetere statui. Verum versio Gallica multum Latinæ præstat; eam ego subinde consulo, quando Latina obscurior est, sive interpretis sive typographi culpa. Quæ epistolæ tuæ inclusa sunt errata, & additamentum de indifferentia, nescio an in privatum meum usum miseris, an vero ut imprimantur. Verum ego puto te sententiam nostram de indifferentia non recte percepisse, ideoque eam in hac epistola plenius & distinctius explicui. Sed tandem manum de tabula. Vale, Vir amplissime. Uxor & filia te plurimum salvere jubent. Salutem à nobis officiosissimam dices D. Masham, totique familiæ.

Amstelod.

11 Oct. 1701.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH,

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

GRatissimam epistolam tuam 11 Oct. datam legi, relegique, & te auctore perlegi Episcopii tractatum de libero Arbitrio. Non tam magnifice de me sentio, ut audeam in tantorum virorum scriptis quicquam reprehendere; fateor tamen nonnulla & in illius dissertatione & in tua epistola occurrere, quæ si coram tibi adesset, explicari à te peroptarem, ut melius perspicere possem quomodo inter se & cum rei veritate con-

sistere possint. Sed si singula quæ in hoc argumento in aliorum scriptis suboriri possunt dubia persequi velim, & pensculatius ad trutinam revocare, in volumen abiret epistola: nec meum est aliorum opiniones convellere (quarum ignarus in scribendo nec aliorum sententiam fugi, nec auctoritatem secutus sum) sed solum mea cogitata, quantum ex rebus ipsis perspicere possum, rebus ipsis conformare. Hæc causa esse potest quod inconsultis auctoribus, & mea mecum meditatus terminis & loquendi formulis hoc in subjecto familiaribus non sum usus. Hoc mihi ignoscendum postulo. Nec Episcopii acutissimi, cujus memoria summa apud me in veneratione est, mentionem hic fecissem, nisi te suafore tractatum ejus de libero arbitrio perlegissem quem tuum fecisti, tuamque per omnia sententiam continere mihi notum fecisses.

Hæc à me præfanda erant ne forsan videar aliorum scripta, qui me in hoc argumento præceperunt insolenter nimis negligere, vel non satis eorum auctoritati tribuere: quod à meo animo, & à mea mediocritate, & est & esse debet remotissimum. Fateor, ego non sector nomina, sed ubique veritati litans, eamque quacunque ducit unice sequor: ideoque gratias tibi ago maximas quod me ubi errasse existimas in viam reducere conaris.

Primum & præcipuum quod in novissima hac tua epistola culpæ videris, est mea definitio *libertatis* quam dicis *nimis esse angustam*. An tua laxior est quam illa, quam ego, lib. ii. c. xxi. § 8, & 12. tradidi, tum videbimus cum tu illam proferes. Nam quod dicis, *libertatem esse dominium quod homo habet in quacunque suam actionem*, hoc mihi non videtur esse definitio libertatis, quum
nihil

nihil aliud dicit nisi hominem habere dominium in actiones suas quod habet; quod huc tantum redit, libertatem esse libertatem quam homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem; quo evenire potest ut nulla omnino sit hominis libertas: scis enim esse aliquos qui negant hominem ullum in actiones suas habere dominium, sed omnia præstituto & ineluctabili duci fato. Quod si dicas te supponere hominem habere dominium in actiones suas, & in eo consistere libertatem; tunc rogo quid sit dominium hominis in actiones suas? *Dominium* enim, five sit vox tralatitia, five ob aliquam aliam causam, mihi videtur æque si non magis obscura quam vox Libertas, ideoque non minus eget definitione. Et sic pergam rogando donec perventum erit ad simplices ideas, ex quibus conflatur idea Libertatis.

Video ex hac tua epistola quanta sit vis consuetudinis, & qua constantia non cogitantibus etiam & invitis irrepit. Fateris, & candide fateris, voluntatem esse animæ facultatem, & facultates non esse agentes: & tamen, ut alia omittam, hic dicis, *Si mea definitio libertatis agnoscatur, certum est libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati.* Voluntati enim nullo modo competere potest libertas, nisi pro agente agnoscatur. Quippe agentium solummodo est libertas. Scio te Episcopii exemplo posse teipsum excusare, qui in principio dissertationis suæ strenue rejiciens facultatum operationes subinde tamen relabitur in argumentationes quibus supponuntur agentes: permitte tamen ut amice moneam, nisi hoc maxime caveas, multum in hac materia tibi faceffes negotium, & tenebras sæpissime tibi offundes.

Ad reliqua de quibus dubitare videris, ne in longitudinem molemq̃ nimiam extendatur responsio, rectius me & compendiosius satisfacturum credo,

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credo, si aliquas hic illic capiti xxi. inferam explicationes quibus animi mei sensum negligentius forsan vel obscurius traditum clariorem reddam, adeo ut festinanti etiam, uti fit, lectori imposte- rum pateat, modo quæ tradita sunt memoria te- nere non dedignentur. Hæc cum tu attente per- legeris, & cum reliquis quæ in isto capite exposui contuleris, plene tibi satisfactum iri spero. Quod si quæ postea tibi remanserint dubia, & aliqua re- stant quæ vel obscura nimis, quorum te fugit sen- sus, vel parum veritati congrua, quibus assensum præbere non potes, moneas rogo, ut aut te auctore corrigam, aut ulterius explicando, veritatem sua propria luce nitentem tibi ante oculos ponam.

Si qua sunt in epistola tua ad quæ non satis di- stincte responsum à me credas, ignoscas rogo va- letudini parum firmæ, quæ languidiorem me & ad scribendum minus aptum reddit. Quanquam spero ex annexis explicationibus, ex quibus men- tem meam percipies, perspicuum tibi fore quid ad singulas dubitationes tuas respondi possit. Vale, Vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 19 Nov.
1701.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.



JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD lectionem tractatus Episcopii de libero arbitrio tibi commendaverim, id eo sine non feci, ut viri illius auctoritate contra te utar; nihil minus: scio enim in sincera veritatis inquisitione nullam valere auctoritatem humanam, sed tantum momenta rationum quibus veritas adstruitur. Nec ego, licet Episcopii sententiam approbem, vellem illius auctoritate constringi, ut omnia, etiam quæ salva principali veritate in dubium vocari possunt, admittam, nedum phrasibus ac loquendi formulis ab ipso usurpatis alligari me patiar. Sed illius legendi tibi auctor fui, ut ex illo cognosceres, nos jam à multo tempore renuntiâsse illi sententiæ quæ statuit animam intermediis facultatibus agere; sed asseruisse tecum, animam immediate per seipsam intelligere ac velle. Unde cognoscere posses, quando communem loquendi usum secuti utimur vocibus intellectus ac voluntatis, nos iis non intelligere facultates realiter ab anima distinctas; sed ipsas intelligendi ac volendi actiones, quas anima immediate ex seipsa elicit. Hoc ego etiam brevioribus vertis significatum dedî in Theologia mea Christiana, lib. ii. cap. xxiii. § 1, 2. Itaque si per incogitantiam ex inveterata consuetudine mihi forte exciderit voluntatem esse liberam, rogo ut id meo sensu accipias, ac si dixissem actio volendi est libera, seu homo in elicienda actione volendi est liber: ac proinde pro verbis meis, si tua libertatis definitio agnoscatur, *certum est liber-*

libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, hæc substituas, certum est actionem volendi neutiquam esse liberam, seu hominem non libere velle. Grattias interim tibi ago, quod inconsideratam hanc meam locutionem mihi indicaveris: ego annitar ut in posterum omnem ambiguum locutionem vitem, & ab inolita loquendi consuetudine non abripiar; ne ulla in verbis meis sit obscuritas.

Libertatem ego definivi per dominium in actiones: quia vox dominii tibi explicatione indigere videtur, simplicius dico libertatem esse facultatem hominis actionem suam vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi: qui alterutrum tantum potest, non est liber. Per actionem autem ego intelligo actionem quamcunque, etiam actiones internas intelligendi ac volendi: circa quasunque actiones non habet homo hanc facultatem eas vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi, sed alterutrum tantum potest, hæ non sunt liberæ: & quia illi hanc facultatem tribuo circa actiones volendi, ideo eas liberas voco: quando hac facultate homo destitutus est, libere nec vult, nec velle potest.

Utinam facultas esset coram tecum de omnibus his differendi, & ex ore tuo plenior omnium circa quæ hæsito explanationem audiendi; meamque sententiam, ac loquendi phrasas distincte explicandi; non dubito quin felicius totam hanc quæstionem terminare possemus. Nunc etiam circa ea, quæ explicationis gratia addidisti, hæsito, an statuas iudicium illud, quo formato non amplius in homine libertas est non volendi, sit actio mera intelligendi, eaque intelligendi actio sit libera vel necessaria: si in ea elicienda hominem liberum agnoscas, non video quis inter nos, quoad summam rei, maneat dissensus. Sed co-
ram

ram possemus hæc distinctius & exactius expendere; idque maxime percuperem, ut uterque in hac materia quanta fieri potest perspicuitate nos explicemus, & difficultatibus hinc inde oborientibus occurramus. Nunc quoniam utriusque ætas id neutiquam permittit, quæ misisti, semper, quando de hac materia ago, consulam, ne aut ipse errem, aut aliis inconsiderata loquendi ratione errandi occasionem præbeam. Vale, Vir amplissime. Salutat te uxor ac filia, omnesque prosperam tibi precamur valetudinem. Generoso Domino Masham gratulamur continuatam dignitatem: illi, ut & Dominae Masham totique familiæ, ut annus hic ex voto fluat precamur.

Amstelod.

3 Jan. 1702.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

DE valetudine fatis constanti quod scribis maxime lætor, & quod palpitatio illa cordis molesta amplius non fuerit gaudeo. Quæ ad sanitatem tuendam faciunt tam recte & prudenter moderaris, ut sperem te diu ab illo aliisque morbis tutum & sospitem futurum; præcipue si dictæ mediocritati venæ sectionem, si ple-

plethoram vel sentias vel metuas, quotiescunque inde malum ingruit, addere velis.

Nunc demum si placet ad diu intermissa studia redeamus. Habeo jam præ manibus literas tuas 3 Januarii datas, in quibus videris mihi dubitare, an ego statuam hominem esse in volendo vel in intelligendo liberum; ita enim quæstionem tuam interpretor: etiam tu rogas an actio volendi vel intelligendi sit libera? Ad quam quæstionem sic respondeo:

1. Generaliter, nempe quod mea sententia homo in omni actione tam volendi quam intelligendi liber est, si ab actione illa volendi aut intelligendi potuit abstinuisse; si non, non.

2. Specialius, quoad voluntatem, aliqui sunt casus in quibus homo non potest non velle, & in omnibus istis volendi actibus homo non est liber, quia non potest non agere. In cæteris, ubi potuit velle vel non velle, liber est.

3. Quoad actus intelligendi, in ista voce *intelligendi* suspicor latere amphibologiam, nam significare potest actionem cogitandi de aliquo subiecto; & in isto sensu homo plerumque liber est in istiusmodi actionibus intellectus. V. g. possum cogitare de peccato Adami, vel inde amovere cogitationem meam ad urbem Romam, vel ad artem bellicam præsentis sæculi. In quibus omnibus & hujusmodi aliis infinitis liber sum, quia pro libitu meo possum de hoc vel illo cogitare vel non cogitare. Vel actus intelligendi potest sumi pro ea actione qua percipio aliquid esse verum, & in hac actione intelligendi; v. g. quod tres anguli trianguli sunt æquales duobus rectis, homo non est liber, quia excussa demonstratione non potest non hoc intelligere. Homo potest plerumque non aperire oculos, vel non

advertere aciem oculorum ad hoc vel illud ob-
jectum, verum apertis & conversis ad solem vel
lunam oculis, necessario videt & splendorem &
figuram quæ se offert intuitui videndam. Quod
de oculis dixi ad intellectum transferre licet. Par
utrinque est ratio. Sed de his hætenus. Si fa-
tisfactum tibi sit gaudeo. Sin dubia restent utere
libertate tua, ego paratus sum & in his & in om-
nibus quantum in me est tibi obtemperare.

Oates, 28 Sept.
1702.

Tui studiosissimus,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

MULTIS me obruis beneficiis, quorum me-
moriæ nulla unquam eluet ætas. Ego
hætenus Dei gratia bene valeo: ante septem cir-
citer hebdomadas plethoram mihi molestam sensi,
sine tamen gravi cordis palpitatione: quare venæ
sectionem adhibui, atque ita omnis illa molestia
evanuit.

1. Quæ de libertate hominis in actione intel-
ligendi ac volendi scribis, tecum verissima ag-
nosco; nimirum in omnibus actionibus, à quibus
homo potuit abstinuisse, esse liberum: minime
vero, si abstinuisse non potuit.

2. Si-

2. Similiter, quosdam esse casus, in quibus homo non potest non velle, & non agere; quia facultate non agendi destitutus est. Sed vero in omnibus actibus obedientiæ ab ipso præstandis, & ob quos non præstitos poenæ reus fit, liberum credo, neque quemquam posse reum poenæ fieri, ob non præstitum actum sibi minime possibilem, aut ob præstitum sibi inevitabilem: nihil enim homini magis liberum esse debet, quam id ob quod poenæ reus redditur.

3. Hominem esse liberum, ut contemplationem vel cogitationem suam ab uno objecto avertat & in aliud dirigat, atque hoc respectu in actionibus intellectus liberum dici posse tecum agnosco: Verum hæc actio, si accurate loqui velimus, proprie est actio volendi, non intelligendi: avertit enim homo cogitationes suas ab uno objecto, & in aliud dirigit, quia non vult priores cogitationes continuare, & quia vult novas inchoare. Quod vero actionem intelligendi attinet, qua homo aliquid percipit esse verum, eam recte dicis non esse liberam: idque locum habet tam in percipiendis iis quæ philosophi per solam intelligentiam cognosci dicunt; ut, bis duo sunt quatuor; idem non potest simul esse & non esse, &c. quam illis quæ excussa demonstratione cognosci optimè dicis; videl. tres angulos trianguli esse æquales duobus rectis. Idem etiam locum habere censeo in aliis intelligendi actionibus, quando res est obscura aut dubia, nullæ sunt rationes eam evidenter probantes, aut pro utraque sententia rationes sunt æqualis ponderis; tum enim homo necessario aut suspensus est, aut dubitat, aut leviter tantum assentitur, ita tamen ut falli posse se credat. Adeo ut intelligendi actio accommodata sit rationibus ac argumentis, quorum

rum pondere in hanc aut illam partem inclinatur. Qualia plurima sunt in vita humana. Et actio illa intelligendi non mutatur, quamdiu non accedunt novæ rationes, aut rationum quibus rei veritas innititur, clarius & evidentior perceptio. Non nego tamen in ejusmodi cognitione inevitanti fieri posse, quin & sæpius contingere, ut nulla accedente nova luce, aut magis distincta perceptione, homo aut eliciat plenum assensum, aut opinionem suam mutet: verum illa mutatio judicii aut assensus, non procedit ab actione aliqua intelligendi, sed volendi; quia nimirum homo, licet nova ratione minime illustratus, judicium suum in alteram partem inclinare vult. Scimus affectus nostros valde inclinare judicium nostrum: itaque indulgendo affectui cuiuspiam qui me in alteram partem impellit, eo etiam judicium & assensum meum inclinare possum. Atque ita judicium hoc meum erit actio mixta, partim intelligendi, partim volendi: quatenus intelligendi est actio, seu rem percipit, est necessaria: verum quicquid in judicio liberum est procedit ab actione volendi: quatenus scilicet ego rationibus allatis acquiescere volo, ut judicium feram. Qualem actionem mixtam ego etiam credo fidem nostram esse, prout explicui in Theol. mea Christ. lib. v. cap. ix. § 21, 22, 23. ibique plenius ostendo, quomodo actio intelligendi & actio volendi in fide christiana concurrunt: solummodo ex inveterata loquendi consuetudine, usus sum vocibus intellectus & voluntatis, quibus actiones intelligendi & volendi designo, juxta ea quæ jam declaraveram lib. ii. cap. xxiii. § 1, 2. Hæc sic distincte considerata existimo: verum nolim ego multum contendere, utrum illa libertas etiam sit dicenda inesse actioni intelligendi, dummodo

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constet hominem in actione illa liberum esse, & hominem libere ab una cogitatione se convertere in alteram. Distinctione tamen hac adhibita puto rem dilucidius explicari. Et sic etiam similitudo tua ab oculis desumpta plenius applicatur: quod enim homo non aperiat oculos, aut oculorum aciem non advertat, hoc facit quia ita vult: oculi autem quando aperiuntur & in objectum diriguntur, illud quale se oculis repræsentat necessario conspiciunt: si in debita distantia oculis objiciatur, etiam necessario distincte videtur: si nimis remotum sit, distincte videri non potest; neque homo libertatem habet procurandi ut objectum in tali distantia ipsi distincte appareat: sed si distincte contemplari velit, libertatem habet propius accedendi. In his puto nos consentire, atque ita in summa rei nullum esse dissensum, licet forsitan in modo explicandi aliqua discrepantia sit. Vale, Vir amplissime; & salve ab uxore, filia, & me,

Amstelod.

27 Oct. 1702.

Tui amantissimo,

P. à LIMBORCH,



JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

POSTquam afflictâ tua valetudo, præsertim in extrema senectute, nos admodum de te sollicitos habuit, tandem gratior paulo nuncius nos recreavit, calore ætatis, qui tamen nunc apud nos calorem vernum non excedit, te nonnihil respirare, & meliuscule te habere. Utinam firmam tibi valetudinem concedat benignum numen, ut quos vitæ tuæ adjicere dignabitur dies, iis, quibus te consecrâsti, studiis impendas, & donec hujus vitæ usura frueris doctissimis tuis lucubrationibus orbi christiano inservire possis! Quæ tu concordiae christianæ jecisti semina, licet nunc ab ingratâ conculcentur, gratæ posteritati fructus suos ferent. Quod licet mens mihi certo præfagiat, nihilominus quando servilia plurimorum, & pro auctoritate humana decertantia ingenia considero, ægre sperare licet, eos depositis præjudiciis & affectibus, animo puro ac sincero momenta rationum quibus veritas nititur ponderaturos, ac uni veritati candide cessuros. Etiam reformatos, qui sese opponendo Papatui nulla se humana auctoritate constringi velle aut posse, protestati sunt, nimium humanæ auctoritati tribuere, scriptaque humana majore quam par est in veneratione habere, actus singulis trienniis in patria nostra repetitus, & cujus solennem repetitionem novellæ nostrates paucas ante hebdomadas nobis retulerunt, argumentum est omni exceptione majus: cujus quoniam nunc recens memoria est, quia illius narrationem tibi non ingratam fore confido, licet res

ipsa maxime displiceat, eam distinctius & cum præcipuis circumstantiis describam. Jam anno CIOICXXV. Ordines Generales decreverunt, ut singulis trienniis acta authentica synodi Dordracenæ, quæ Hagæ asservantur, à deputatis ordinum & ecclesiarum inspiciantur: postquam deinde anno CIO ICXXXVII. prodiit nova biblicorum versio, jussu ejusdem synodi adornata, illius etiam exemplar, à translatoribus & revisoribus, hunc in finem Lugdunum evocatis, ultimo correctum, quod Lugduni Batavorum asservatur, inspicere solet. Redeunte itaque quolibet triennio deputati synodorum Hollandiæ Australis & Borealis cœtum convocant ex omnium provinciarum ecclesiis, necnon ex ecclesia Walonica. Hi patres conscripti, ubi convenere, præfidi Ordinum Generalium adventum fratrum indicant: precibus à pastore loci, si cœtus membrum sit, habitis, & literis credentialibus lectis, præses & scribæ eliguntur. Præcedentis cœtus acta præleguntur: exinde deputati cœtus ad Ordines Generales mittuntur, ut scriptorum synodaliū visionem petant, & ut aliquos è collegio suo ad eam deputent, locum & tempus statuunt, quin & per epistolam consules Lugdunenses præmoneant, & Collegii regentem, unius clavis custodem, ut adsit, quando Lugdunum convenient ad inspiciendum autographa versionis. His peractis, certa à deputatis Ordinum constituta hora comparent in Ordd. Generalium camera; primo funduntur preces, quibus Deo gratiæ aguntur, quod ecclesiam reformatam à variis erroribus purgaverit, quod synodum ipsis concefferit, cujus acta authentica in præcedente cœtu adhuc incorrupta conspexerunt; & quoniam nunc convenerunt ut ea denuo inspiciant, oratur Deus ut gratiam hanc ipsis concedat,

cedat, ut integra æque ac incorrupta ab ipsis conspiciantur, perinde uti ante triennium conspecta fuere. Postquam scripta inspecta sunt, gratiæ Deo pro tanto beneficio aguntur, idque depositum denuo tutelæ divinæ committitur, ut in proximo cœtu æque sincerum atque incorruptum reperiat prout nunc deponitur. Postridie Lugdunum proficiscuntur, & à magistratu in curiam adsciti authentica versionis inspiciunt. Hæc inspectio similibus precibus incohatur ac finitur. Exin lauto excipiuntur convivio, in quo à præfide cœtus & scriba deputatis Ordinum & magistratus Lugdunensis gratiæ aguntur. Hagam reversi in actis scribunt, scripta illis integra adhuc, & à vermibus, tinea & muribus inviolata esse reperta: atque ita cœtui finis imponitur. Hæc est illa triennalis solennitas, visioni scriptorum synodaliū destinata, quam paulo distinctius, variisque circumstantiis vestitam tibi scribere volui, ut, quanta veneratione synodi illius famosæ reliquiæ hic asserventur, cognoscas. Hæc ego excerpti ex narratione cujusdam ministri, qui ipse cœtus illius membrum fuit, scripta inspexit, & in quorundam amicorum gratiam hanc historiolum scripto consignavit. Cui etiam consonant aliorum qui solemnitati illi interfuerunt relationes. Non credo Romæ tanta cum veneratione tantisque sumptibus acta concilii Tridentini inspicere. Ridenda hæc forent, si quorundam privatorum inconsiderato zelo agerentur; nunc, quia auctoritate publica fiunt, dolenda sunt. Quid Gallica synodus nuperrime contra D. Clerici versionem Gallicam Novi Testamenti ejusque notas decreverit, quam frivoliæ illius sint criminationes, quam plene brevi scripto edito eas D. Clericus refutaverit, ipse tibi aut jam scripsit, aut brevi,

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ut credo, scripturus est. Hæc similiaque quando considero, bonæ conscientiæ studio acquiescendum, & neglectis hominum iniquorum molitionibus, veritati ac paci indefesso studio unice litandum, laborumque nostrorum benedictionem à solo Deo, qui è tenebris lucem eruere potest, expectandum esse certus sum. Illius te tutelæ commendo, illum oro ut omnia tibi largiatur fausta ac salutaria, nec non honoratissimæ in qua vivis familiæ. Salutant te, Dominum ac Dominam Masham, una cum dignissima filia ac filio, uxor ac filia. Salutem etiam à me dices D^o Coste.

Amstelod.

Jun. 21, 1704.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE,
S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

PUdet me fane tam diuturni silentii, nec ab infirma & plane fracta valetudine satis excusatum credo, etiamsi admixta etiam aliqua tui reverentia me à scribendo aliquantulum detinuit satis ex ipso morbo desidiosum. Quorsum enim attinet te, eruditioribus sermonibus aptum & commercii literarum docto liberoque animo dignis, ægrotantis querelis, laboriosisque verbis anhelum scrip-

scriptorem redolentibus fatigare? Juvat tamen experiri amicitiam tuam, veterem amicum etiam si senio & morbo mutilum ad sepulcrum usque prosequi. Nihil sane jucundius, nec est quod magis animum debilem & languescentem resocillet, quam constans & vegeta amicorum benevolentia; magnum perfugium humanæ fragilitatis, in quo reperitur magna pars voluptatis, cum reliqua plane insipida sunt & frustra sollicitantur. Gratissime igitur mihi fuerunt epistolæ tuæ benevolentiae & amicitiae plenæ, nec quantum ex illis solatii perceperim ex taciturnitate mea, sed ex voluptate quam profiteor, judicare debes. Ea enim infirmj corporis morbus est, hoc sentientis, grati & animi testimonium.

Etiam si servilium ingeniorum, humanâ venerantium, exempla cumulate satis mihi obtulit longa dies, nec melior omnino mihi spes est de futuro; donec placuerit Deo optimo maximo ex misericordia sua secundo filii sui adventu restaurare ecclesiam; maxime tamen mihi placuit historia ista quam in novissimis tuis perscripsisti. Actus ille triennalis cum omni suo apparatu partim ridiculo, partim superstitioso, habet in se quod & stomachum & splenem moveat: certe cum omnibus suis circumstantiis ita graphice depictus conservari debet, etiam ubi commodè fieri potest typis mandari & in publicum prodire, ut quod privatim obtinet, oculis hominum obversetur, & pudefiant qui sic sacris illudunt, Deique nomen sacrosanctum, placitis inventisque suis audacter præfigunt. Vitam tibi in utilitatem religionis longam validamque, & in usum familiæ & amicorum tuorum animitus precor, uti & omnia prospera tibi tuisque. Optimam nam sæminam, filiamque, reliquosque amicos nostros,

nostros, meo nomine rogo officiosissime salutes.
 Hæc tota familia te tuoque salutat. Vale, Vir
 amplissime; & me ama

Oates, 4 Aug.
 1704.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE,

F I N I S.



